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ABSTRACT

Methods for teaching college students studying public administration about the cultures, values, and politics of major ethnic groups were studied. Several activities were undertaken. In one, graduate students at the State University of New York at Binghamton participated in two courses specifically focusing on ethnic cultures, entitled American Urban Ethnic Politics and Social Values and Public Policy (the syllabi are appended). A second activity involved integrating ethnic projects and learning into regular public administration courses. For example, one student analyzed the impact of ethnicity on policy attitudes using existing social survey data. The paper is appended. Another research paper, also appended, analyzes the political organization and activities of four ethnic groups: Jews, white Catholics of European descent, Blacks, and Mexican Americans. Other project activities included placing students in internships with an ethnic component and conducting a lecture and discussion series with both national and local ethnic leaders and scholars for the benefit of faculty, graduate students, and community ethnic leaders and individuals. (Author/MSE)

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DIRECTOR'S REPORT

ETHNIC EDUCATION FOR FUTURE AND PRESENT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES GRANT

U. S. Office of Education

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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Submitted by

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ETHNIC EDUCATION FOR FUTURE AND PRESENT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES GRANT

U. S. Office of Education

Period: July 1, 1976 - June 30, 1977

Our ethnic heritage project was designed to provide a response to criticism by racial, religious and national origin groups that bureaucracies are insensitive to their values and needs by educating future and actual public administrators and planners to understand their pluralistic fellow citizens and clientele. The project attempted to do the following: 1) Teach public administration and policy students (future and actual government officials and civil servants) about the cultures, values and politics of major ethnic groups; 2) Sensitize future and actual government employees to the values, interests, needs and demands of major ethnic groups; 3) Disseminate to other public administration and policy institutions and schools preparing government careerists curriculum plans, programs, materials and evaluations to aid development of similar ethnic learning and sensitization.

The goals of developing understanding of and sensitivity to multi-ethnic groups and organizations were to be approached in a number of ways: 1) Through the development of courses in ethnic cultures and policy; 2) Through the development of courses sensitizing students to responsibility for and techniques of responding to pluralistic demands and values; 3) Interaction between local ethnic (religious, racial and national-origin) groups and leaders and public administration and policy students to provide experience with and understanding of cultural differences and their effects on government policy and practice;

4) Colloquia with national ethnic leaders and scholars interested in ethnic diversity and politics to broaden students' knowledge and sensitivities and consultation between these leaders and scholars and appropriate faculty members and community leaders to provide on-going program development and evaluation.

The grant began July 1, 1976. The summer months were spent in the following kinds of preparation: 1) A catalog of library materials related to ethnicity was drawn up for class use and significant material not available to us ordered; 2) Data tapes were prepared from NORC General Social Surveys to provide national samples with usefully large numbers of respondents from all major ethnic groups for teaching and research purposes; 3) A survey of faculty research interests was made so that graduate students could be attached to those professors doing relevant ethnic research; 4) A series of internships for graduate policy students was developed which specifically involved either research for local and regional government agencies involved with ethnicity or jobs providing close contact between government agencies and specific ethnic groups. (See attached memo to political science faculty from project director, Mary Hanna, explaining these steps in detail--Appendix 1.)

In September the teaching of cultures and sensitization of students to ethnic differences and their effect on government began. As part of their orientation to the graduate program, Professor Dennis Thompson discussed the ethnic heritage project with policy students. The teaching of ethnic cultures, values and politics of major ethnic groups and the sensitization of these future government employees to the values, interests, needs and demands of our ethnically diverse citizens proceeded along four tracks.

Students with research assistanceships were assigned to work individually with professors previously identified as conducting various kinds of ethnic research or to help prepare and teach ethnic courses. The list of students, faculty members and specific projects is attached--Appendix 2.

Ethnic projects and learning were injected into regular courses in

American government, public policy and public administration required of graduate policy students. For example, a student in the American politics seminar, Corwin Yulinsky, used the NORC General Social Survey tapes to analyze the impact of ethnicity on policy attitudes. His paper was judged significant enough to be issued by the Center for Social Analysis and is now under consideration for publication by the American Political Science Review--Appendix 3. Graduate students also participated in two courses specifically involved with ethnic cultures, ethnic politics and public policy and administration: in the fall semester, American Urban Ethnic Politics, and in the spring, Social Values and Public Policy. The syllabi are attached--Appendix 4.

Internships are required of all graduate students seeking master's degrees in public policy and administration. Under the Ethnic Heritage Program students were placed in internships with an ethnic component. The list of students and a description of their internships is attached--Appendix 5.

A lecture and discussion series was held with both national and local ethnic leaders and scholars for faculty, graduate students and community ethnic leaders and people. The list of speakers and their subjects is attached--Appendix 6. Dr. Irving Levine, Director of the Center for the Study of Group Pluralism, a division of the American Jewish Committee, and Michael Novak, author of The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic, and president of EMPAC, Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee, in addition to lecturing, consulted with faculty and community leaders in regard to the program we were operating and its future.

The Ethnic Heritage Program of the U. S. Office of Education requires two further objectives of the projects it funds: dissemination of information on the specific projects and their results so that ethnic materials and learning can become widely known and utilized; the development of on-going ethnic teaching programs growing from the seed grant of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program.

Dissemination

Articles describing the approach, problems and results of an ethnic studies teaching program have been prepared by Mary Hanna for EMPAC, the Journal of Ethnic Studies and the NASPAA. Copies will be forwarded as soon as these are published. Two research papers developed out of the program and its graduate student participants have also helped to bring the program to general academic attention. In addition to the Yulinsky paper already cited (Appendix 2), a paper was presented by Professor Mary Hanna at the national convention of the American Political Science Association--Appendix 7). Finally, reports on our program were also sent individually to universities and colleges interested in either ethnic studies per se or the training of public administrators. The list of universities and colleges receiving these reports is attached--Appendix 8.

Future Development

The resources provided us by the Ethnic Heritage grant and the interest aroused by the project set foundations which seem very promising for continued and expanded ethnic studies programs at this institution. The relationship developed between our department and the local ethnic organization, the American Civic Association, with which we conducted our project is continuing. The relationship became very strong with constant meetings and interaction between professors, students and ethnic leaders. The ACA members of the ethnic project committee provided key suggestions contributory to the project's success. They suggested we meet with the county executives and mayors of nearby cities to explain the project and get their support for the ethnic training of the administrators working for them. Professor Thompson subsequently met with County Executive Edwin Crawford and Mayors Alfred Libous, Dennis McCabe and Joseph Caldwell. They enthusiastically endorsed the program and requested special workshops for ethnic culture learning and sensitivity for their employees as well as for our students. ACA members also suggested that we interview the leaders of local ethnic groups to determine the problems they felt their groups had with political and government agencies and officials. Professor Walter Filley, with two policy graduate students did this, and the information they developed was subsequently integrated into courses for policy and public administration students.

With the strong encouragement of the ACA we began investigating the resources not just of our department but of the university as a whole which might be used to develop a permanent course of studies in ethnic culture and politics. Sheldon Grebstein, Dean of the Arts and Sciences for SUNY-Binghamton, supported such an attempt and appointed an inter-departmental faculty committee to develop an ethnic studies certificate program or major for the university. Professor Mary Hanna, project director of the Ethnic Heritage Studies project, was appointed and is serving as chairperson for the committee. Planning is now well under way and courses for such a major will begin next fall (1978). A copy of Professor Hanna's report to the Dean on the planning and progress of the committee to date is attahced--Appendix 9.

On the graduate level, we found great interest and enthusiasm among graduate public policy and administration students for the ethnic heritage project. They requested a continuation of opportunities for ethnic courses and research in their training. In response, the Center for Social Analysis has planned a continuing ethnic studies component in the teaching and research work of the Center. To this end, the professors of economics, political science and sociology involved with the Center are meeting on a regular basis to plan this component.

In the final analysis, our ethnic heritage grant has permitted us to do four things: 1) to teach ethnic culture, politics and values and sensitivity regarding these to future and present public policy-makers and administrators who will relate to an ethnically diverse citizen-clientele in their official capacities; 2) to form an on-going relationship between the leaders of this ethnically-diverse community and the univeristy,its faculty and students, to the enrichment of both; 3) to begin an ethnic studies major, one of the very few in the country teaching students the histories and cultures of all of our main ethnic groups in a pluralistic context; 4) to continue a research and teaching component in ethnic studies and sensitivity for our graduate policy and administration students.

APPENDIX 1

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BINGHAMTON

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

MEMORANDUM

TO: Department Faculty

FROM: Mary T. Hanna

SUBJECT: Ethnic Heritage Program

DATE: August 17, 1976

As many of you already know, our department has received a $37,996 grant from the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program of the U. S. Office of Education. I will be directing the project along with Dennis Thompson and Walt Filley. The grant is for graduate training and we are funded under it for the current academic year.

I would like to describe the project in some detail in order to solicit suggestions and cooperation, among those of you with similar research and/or teaching interests and in order to let you know what kind of services, aid, etc. might be available to you and your graduate classes under the grant.

The project was designed as a response to the criticisms increasingly being voiced by racial, religious and some national-origin ethnic groups that their values, life-styles, needs, etc. are not understood by government bureaucracies from the local to the national level and therefore are not responded to. The destruction of working class---and ethnic---neighborhoods under urban renewal projects is an example of this.

What we have proposed doing in our project is to make available, particularly to policy grad students, courses, research opportunities and special events which would teach them something about the cultures and histories of the various groups making up our citizenry (and their future clientele) and give them some sensitivity to the problems involved with dealing with a pluralistic clientele at a time when ethnic consciousness and ethnic organization seems on the rise. Working with us on the project is the American Civic Association, the umbrella agency for more than 30 ethnic groups in Broome County.

Some specific courses will be offered in the spring semester along these lines. Walt will be teaching a comparative ethnic politics course (with substantial emphasis on the U. S., of course) in which he will be examining ethnic diversity and politics and government policy-making. Dennis is also restructuring his social values course to include consideration of ethnic problems and response. We are attempting also to provide internships for graduate students which will put them in positions to do research in connection with ethnicity and government or in positions of particularly sensitive group/government contact. Already this summer two of our students interned in jobs where they were involved in helping to compile and analyze a special census taken of Broome County residents involving ethnic data. The American Civic Association has agreed to help students form links with various ethnic groups and projects in the community to increase their own knowledge about group culture, attitudes toward government and specific issues and policies or to set up research projects. Finally in the spring we plan a major series of colloquia. We have about $3000 in the grant that can be spent on outside lecturers and consultants. We would like to invite three kinds of people: recognized scholars in the field of ethnicity; leaders of various racial, religious and national-origin groups, particularly those that try to influence government; elected and appointed government officials who are in positions involved in one way or another with response to groups and group pressures. Some of the people we are tentatively considering are the following: Daniel Moynihan, Michael Novak, Andrew Greeley, Richard Hostetler, Barbara Mikulski, Irving Levine, Nathan Glazer, Chuck Stone, Jesse Jackson.

Naturally, we couldn't afford all of these people. But we have written to see how much interest they have, if they have any plans to be in or near the area, and the fees they would expect. We would much welcome any comments or suggestions for other speakers you might like to make.

We would like to involve other faculty members, other classes and other research in the project. Let me give some examples of possibilities for doing that. As many of you know, a number of scholars concerned particularly with class, ethnicity and politics have begun combining data from a number of surveys using identical sampling techniques to give them larger data bases and to correct for temporary changes---for example Verba, Mi and Greeley. This summer with much useful consultation and advice from Rick Hofferbert and Dick Rehberg we did this for the NORC General Social Surveys of 1972 thru 1975. We now have, in effect, a combined single survey with a total of 6091 respondents, including usefully large numbers of respondents in various social, religious, ethnic and class groups. The survey includes over 700 Blacks for example. This is now on a special tape (variable list available). It seems to me that many of you teaching classes in which students conduct a research project, whether it be Afro-American studies, parties and elections, methodology, whatever, may find this a useful research suggestion to make to students. The tape is available to any professor or graduate student who would want to use it. We only ask that we be informed of the subject of the project for our required reports to Washington.

Some of you may also be doing research involved in some way with ethnicity that we are not aware of and in which we could be of help. Nate Hakman recently informed me of a fascinating study which he is doing. Most of our grant, of course, is apportioned to buying faculty time and to the outside lecturers, but we do have some money for xerox, supplies, the purchase of research materials and for faculty travel. As long as graduate students are or could be involved with your research (not just in classes but also as an independent study, perhaps doctoral dissertations, etc.) we may be able to provide some money under the grant for you---at least to the limits of our resources.

Finally, some of you may be teaching courses, including of course comparative courses, where some aspect of ethnic diversity, ethnic groups functioning as interest groups, government policy impact on groups etc., might be of interest or importance. We would be glad to hear about this and we might be able to be of help. In the fall, for example, we will have a graduate student developing an annotated bibliography of articles and books on the subject---of course available to anyone, faculty and grad student, who could use it. We might be able to provide guest speakers, from in and outside the university, for seminar lectures: for example, if in a public administration course, the professor wishes to deal with the new theorists discussing participatory administration and envisions an ethnic dimension to this. Walt, also, plans in the fall to interview community leaders on attitudes, problems, policy, etc. and his findings may well result in input into state and local government classes or in possible research projects for the students in those classes.

I need not say that this project is not limited to Americanists. Certainly a comparative approach, such as the one Walt will take in his class, could be most meaningful in teaching and research results.

Being Italian, small and rather sweet, I am not trying, of course to force consideration of ethnicity down anyone's throat or into anyone's class. I do believe very strongly in collegial consultation and collegial input and have welcomed the large degree of this I have found in the department. I therefore write a rather long memo because I want everyone to understand what this project is about, to solicit (heartily) suggestions and advice and to be informed of the help we might be able to give.

Graduate research assignments:

Student	Faculty Member	Project
Louis DelValle	Peter DeWitt	Conflict between Mexican-American and Puerto Rican migrant workers in New York State.
Richard Fox	Dennis Thompson	Public policy impact on separationist ethnic groups; the Hasidim and the Hopi.
Nina Gill	Nathan Hakman	Differential access to courts as solutions to problems by various ethnic groups.
Patricia Ingraham	Mary Hanna	Class preparation - American Urban Ethnic Politics.
Gail Pantel	Walter Filley	Ethnic Studies Bibliography.
Woody Taylor	Cedric Robinson	Preparation for class on Blacks and radicalism.
Rudolph Wilson	Mary Hanna	Comparative study of ethnic groups as political interest groups.
Douglas Wolf	Eduard Ziegenhagen	Victims of crimes: ethnic differences.
Corwin Yulinsky	Mary Hanna	Comparative study of ethnic groups as political interest groups.

ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND ATTITUDES

The Social Correlates of Policy Preference

Corwin M. Yulinsky
State University of New York at Binghamton

C.S.A. Working Paper 7-1, March, 1977

The author wishes to express his thanks to Richard Hofferbert, Mary Hanna, and Gary Klass for helpful guidance.

The research presented herein was supported by the U.S. Office of Education under Grant #40-513-A, awarded to Professor Mary Hanna. Professor Hanna permitted the use of the ethnic heritage dataset, a pooled set of NORC surveys compiled in execution of the grant. The author gratefully acknowledges both parties.

ABSTRACT

As Reinhard Bendix (1976) has indicated, modern social structures are characterized by both vertical and horizontal divisions. The origins of some of these cleavages are to be found in the nature of industrial societies; others, however, are the remnants of ancient schisms of clan and tribe.

This article attempts to assess certain cognitive impacts of these cleavages. In particular, people's attitudes toward government policies will be examined in the context of class and ethnic differences. A debate is developing concerning the explanatory power of both; this paper is an attempt to explore and synthesize central aspects of the two arguments. Specifically, data from the General Social Surveys of 1973-1975 will be analyzed to determine the relative consequence of class and ethnic differences on attitudes toward a set of policy issue areas.

Introduction

As Reinhard Bendix (1976) has indicated, modern social structures are characterized by both vertical and horizontal divisions. The origins of some of these cleavages are to be found in the nature of industrial societies; others, however, are the remnants of ancient schisms of clan and tribe.

This article attempts to assess certain cognitive impacts of these cleavages. In particular, people's attitudes toward government policies will be examined in the context of class and ethnic differences. A debate is developing concerning the explanatory power of both; this paper is an attempt to explore and synthesize central aspects of the two arguments. Specifically, data from the General Social Surveys of 1973-1975 will be analyzed to determine the relative consequence of class and ethnic differences on attitudes toward a set of policy issue areas.

Conceptual Framework

Traditionally, socioeconomic class has been viewed as a strong, if not dominant, determinant of several types of political behaviors and attitudes:

> (Intellectuals) assume that 'issue politics' are the issues of social class. If we are to have a rational politics, we must have one of social class. . . Divisions on issues that are primordial, ethnic. . . are irrational. (Greeley, 1974, p. 22)

The role of social class as an explanatory factor is in large part a result of the Marxian tenets which pervade Western political thought. This holds true for both Marxists and anti-Marxists. There exists a strong conviction that class is the key variable in explaining many types of political behavior.

There is at least one major problem with the utilization of class as a variable. The degree of "class consciousness" is generally seen to be very weak in the United States (Key, 1958, p. 54). People's conceptions of their social class are determined by many non-objective factors. This results in different studies using different operationalizations of class. Nevertheless, it is a strong enough concept to be regarded as comparable from one American study to the next.

In the past few years a new group of scholars, best represented by Andrew Greeley, has come forward to suggest that the nature of American society is such that ethnic divisions are more important explanatory factors than class divisions. While not discounting class, these researchers see it as a parallel to ethnic cleavages. They do not grant it primacy.

Before proceeding, it will be useful to define some necessary terms. An ethnic group has been described as:

> A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. (i.e., nationality, religion) A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group. (Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 123).

This last sentence presents a large problem, similar to the lack of class consciousness. The degree of one's ethnic identification is a great deal more problematic than the degree of class consciousness. There are objective correlates of class; there are none for ethnicity, except for ethnicity itself. An alternative has been posed by Herberg (1960), who would classify all ethnics by religion. As will be seen, this is an unduly constrained way of dealing with a problem that possesses a great deal of depth. It must be taken as a limiting assumption that ethnic identification is fairly constant from individual to individual, regardless of which ethnic group he or she belongs to.

Given these definitions, it becomes useful to distinguish social systems from cultural systems. These concepts were introduced in the current context by Kroeber and Parsons (1958). They defined the social system as the set of interrelationships between institutions, groups, and individuals. The cultural system is the set of beliefs, norms, symbols, and values. Ethnic groups can retain cultural systems within the context of the American social system. The parallelism of cultural and social systems permits this coexistence.

Two processes operate to integrate people into these dual systems. Acculturation involves the acceptance of, and merger into, the mainstream social system. Assimilation refers to acceptance of the prevailing cultural norms, as well as the social ideals.

Within this framework, ethnicity becomes a lasting source of diversity. Much of the class-oriented literature has predicted (incorrectly) the fading effect of ethnicity. In this view the mainstream social system is causally related to an assimilative process that serves to erode ethnic enclaves. While assimilation and acculturation are conceptually and empirically distinct, they tend to correlate over time in modern societies. Social class becomes the primary source of values.

The extent to which such an hypothesis does not describe the reality of the situation can be attributed to a failure to distinguish between assimilation and acculturation.

Students of ethnicity have seized upon this difference, and developed a paradigm in which ethnic diversity is seen as being a vertical division, parallel to social class, as well as an intra-class source of differentiation. Michael Parenti (1967) suggests that increasing acculturation leads to increased ethnic awareness; this in turn leads to increasing ethnic salience in political behavior. Such a view of the processes of social change posits no likely correlation between assimilation and acculturation. The tradition-modernity schism expounded by Bendix is seen as having an enduring consequentiality.

Most of the ethnicity-oriented writers have studied ethnicity in relationship to voting behavior. Parenti (1967), Wolfinger (1965), and Dahl (1961) all made inferences about the persistence of ethnicity based on voting patterns. This should be seen, however, in the perspective of voter ethnic identification, which can be thought of as analagous to the concept of voter party identification. In the absence of informational cues, ethnic identification serves as a method of candidate selection. Pomper's study of non-partisan elections and ethnicity supports this approach. Therefore, voting behavior is not a comprehensive indicator of the effects of ethnic persistence; as Wolfinger asserts (1966, p. 47):

> (Politics are structured) so that (ethnics') expectations are for recognition rather than substantive policies; ethnic strategies divert working class energies away from substantive policy demands.

These symbolic aspects of voting make it questionable as an effective measure of ethnicity's influence. (It is interesting to note that Wolfinger, who has done a great deal of ethnic research, sees class politics as the spur for policy demands.) Concentration on the voting act misses a variety of other political effects of ethnicity that are of central importance to the political process, especially as a force in norm-setting and value determination. In particular, the present concern is with the consequences of ethnicity for policy preferences.

There is some prior research of relevance. Banfield and Wilson (1968) have explored the differences between "native" White Anglo-Saxon Protestants' (WASPs) and ethnics' policy attitudes, as have Free and Cantril (1967). Banfield and Wilson found that WASPs and Jews are more "public-regarding" (liberal in spending preferences) than other ethnic groups. Free and Cantril found that Jews and other ethnics are more liberal than WASPs. Their findings were based on survey responses, while Banfield and Wilson's study analyzed aggregate data. It would appear that survey analysis is a more valid technique in exploring attitudinal variation, and subsequent research has tended to support Free and Cantril.

The most distinguished of these efforts, and the one closest in its aims to this study, is Greeley's Ethnicity in the United States. Greeley studies the differences between WASPs and ethnics in several aspects of political and social behavior, including attitudes toward the desirability of various government social programs. He finds, using some rather sophisticated techniques, that ethnicity has a strong effect on policy attitudes, independent of social class.

There are several flaws in Greeley's generally excellent analysis. The most troubling is his use of education as the indicator of social class. This omits too much necessary information to enable one to accept his conclusions without reservation.

One of the purposes of this paper is to replicate some of Greeley's research, using more powerful measurement techniques, and a different sample. There are three hypotheses to be tested.

Hypotheses

I) Policy attitudes will be determined more strongly by socioeconomic class than by ethnicity, but ethniticity will have an independent effect, despite the strength of class.

Most social programs (welfare, housing, etc.) are differentially targeted on segments of the social system. Therefore, class is likely to be a central determinant of attitudes toward social programs. Ethnic identification, however, while of less significance than class as an attitude-structuring force, will still be of consequence for policy preferences.

The process of formulating policy attitudes contains a component determined by values toward the role of the state in people's lives, and toward those in other groups. These properties of pro- or anti-statism, and inter-group compassion, may, in large part, be outgrowths of the historical experiences of ethnic collectivities. These "traditional" values, transmitted from parent to child (Greeley, 1975), will allow ethnicity to continue as a norm-setting force in policy preferences, despite acculturation.

II) Perceived social class will be a stronger predictor of policy attitudes than objective measures of social class, such as occupation and income.

People's class perceptions should play a more important role in their decisions than the objective reality. Perception provides the linkage between reality and decision.

A third hypothesis is grounded on the differences in levels of ethnic heterogeneity found in cities, and small towns:

III) Size of place of residence as a youth will cause differences in the relative impacts of ethnicity and class. The more heterogeneous nature of cities will lead to a greater ethnic awareness, and make ethnicity more important for policy attitudes.

In the context of a more ethnically aware community, such as those enclaves found in large urban centers, "traditional" values are more pervasive and are inculcated more thoroughly. Hence, they play a greater role in norm-determination and policy preferences. There is generally less ethnic heterogeneity in smaller towns, and ethnicity will be of less import.

Methodology

The data used in this study are a pooled set aggregated from three NORC General Social Surveys (1973 to 1975).[1] These surveys of three national probability samples provide data on personal and demographic traits, as well as policy preferences. The surveys are pooled to provide larger numbers of respondents in the smaller ethnic groups. All variables to be used in the analysis were compared from year to year to insure that there were no dramatic fluctuations in response patterns that could be attributed to temporally unique conditions.

Five groups were selected for study: White Northern Protestants, White Southern Protestants, European Catholics, Spanish-Speaking Catholics, and Jews. The Protestants are divided by region to capture the fundamentalist aspect of Protestantism found largely in the South. European Catholics are distinguished from Spanish-Speaking Catholics because of the drastically different histories of the two groups; hence they are separated. Jews are most effectively viewed as an ethnic group, rather than as a religious community. All other groups are omitted from the analysis.

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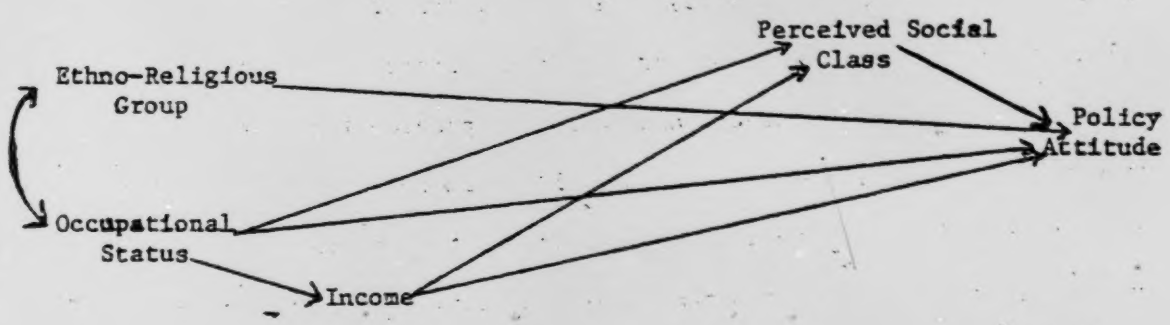
[1] Data were originally collected by the National Opinion Research Center and made available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

The sample size is 2544. The percentages are: Northern Protestant (44.8), Southern Protestant (17.2), European Catholic (30.7), Spanish-speaking Catholic (3.2), and Jewish (4.0).

Following Hypotheses I and II, the model shown in Figure 1 is to be explored.

FIGURE 1

Proposed Model of Attitude Determination



The nature of the model, and the problem being investigated, recommends the use of path analysis for testing the hypotheses. It permits the decomposition of correlations into discrete causal paths, as specified in the model. This enables comparisons of the relative effects of each variable, controlling for the effects of all others.

Two transformations are required before the analysis can be performed. The dependent variable, policy attitude, has to be operationalized in a meaningful way. Factor analysis provides an index of policy "liberalism." A principal component analysis of the relevant variables produces the following index:

TABLE 1

Policy Liberalism Index Loadings*

Favors Government Spending For:	Loading
Environment	.66
Health Care	.67
Big Cities	.65
Rising Crime	.63
Drug Addiction	.65
Education	.62
Condition of Blacks	.42
Welfare	.05
Defense	-.23

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*Respondents were asked whether they thought that government was spending enough, too much, or too little for each category. Those expressing a desire for more spending were coded as favorable for the purposes of this analysis.

This scale seems to represent the attitude of the respondent toward government spending in areas beneficial to large segments of society. Spending on the conditions of Blacks and welfare are weaker components of the dimension, particularly the latter. Those programs viewed favorably provide services not targeted toward particular social or ethnic groups. They are intended to solve general societal problems affecting many groups. The contradiction between this pattern of preferences, and the governmental practice of targeting policies toward specific groups may account for some of the general dissatisfaction with current public policy. The negative loading of defense spending may reveal a perception that defense expenditures fail to provide a wide-spread societal payoff.

Having obtained this measure, factor scores were calculated for each respondent[2] and used as the dependent variable.

To satisfy the methodological assumptions of path analysis, a technique is needed to rank the ethnic groups in some order. Multiple Classification Analysis[3] allows one to take nominal level data and transform it to a common metric on the basis of the variance explained in a selected dependent variable by each nominal category. In this case the five groups were ranked on the basis of how much of the variance in the factor scores was explained by membership in each group. Table II shows the results:

TABLE II

Results of Multiple Classification Analysis

Group	MCA Coefficient*
Jewish	.52
European Catholic	.08
Spanish-speaking Catholic	.04
Northern Protestant	-.07
Southern Protestant	-.12

*These coefficients are only meaningful internally-relative to each other for this particular sample with this indicator.

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[2] Norman Nie, et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (McGraw-Hill, New York) 1975, p. 496.

[3] Frank Andrews, et. al., Multiple Classification Analysis, (Michigan, Ann Arbor) 1967.

It should be noted that these scores reinforce the ethnic liberalism findings of Greeley and Free and Cantril. Both Protestant groups are more conservative regarding government programs.

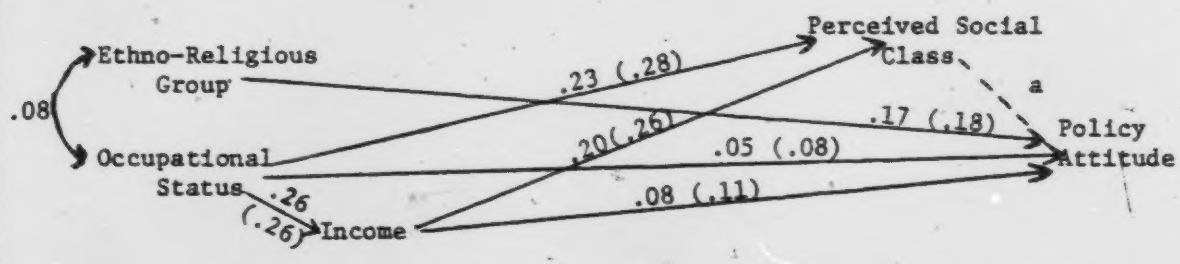
The indicators for occupation, income and perceived social class are taken from the NORC surveys. Occupation level and income are nine-level ordinal variables. Social class is four tiered.[4] These variables represent both objective and subjective aspects of class.

Results

The analysis tends to disprove the first two hypotheses. Ethnicity has a stronger effect on policy attitudes than the class indicators. In addition, perceived social class has no independent effect on attitude. The path coefficients are presented in Figure 2; the product-moment correlations are parenthesized:

FIGURE 2

Path Coeffieients & Correlations



(N=2271)[5]

*The path between Perceived Social Class and Policy Attitude is insignificant-not twice its standard error-and it was trimmed out of the model.

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[4] The four classes are lower, working, middle, and upper.

[5] A total of 273 respondents were eliminated because of missing data on one or more of the variables. The deletions were uniformly distributed throughout the sample; the greatest fluctuation was a 1.8% difference in the proportion of Northern Protestants.

Before analyzing the paths themselves, it is interesting to note that the differences between the correlations and the paths are rather small. In addition to the technical advantages of avoiding multi-collinearity, this finding supports the substantive inference that these variables are relatively independent of one another.

The magnitudes of the paths show that ethnicity has twice the direct, independent effect of income on policy liberalism, and more than three times the effect of occupational level. The total direct effect of these class indicators is also less than that of ethnicity's (.13 as contrasted to .17).

TABLE III

Total Causal Effects - Class & Ethnicity

Variable	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total
Ethno-Religious Group	.17	-------	.17
Occupational Status	.05	(.08)(.26) = .02	.07
Income Level	.08	-------	.08

Total Causal Effect of Class = .15
Total Causal Effect of Ethnicity = .17

While the differences are slight, Table III indicates that ethnicity has a stronger impact on the determination of policy attitude than had been hypothesized. The analysis was repeated for each of the three years, with great consistency.

As will be discussed later, this finding brings into question the interrelationships between the social system, and the parallel cultural sub-systems. Policy attitudes, while operating in the social system, may be formed out of those norms developed in the cultural system.

Enhancing this possibility is the lack of a significant path between perceived social class and policy attitude. Only the objective measures of class had an effect, thus challenging Hypothesis II. Also surprising was the finding that occupation and income explained only 17% of the variance in perceived social class.

The attenuated nature of these relationships led to a more in-depth exploration of the data, revealing that the source of the indeterminacy may be the perceived classless nature of American society. While the objective measures of class were distributed throughout the sample, the vast majority of the sample (94.4%) described themselves as either working or middle class (44.6% and 49.8%, respectively). Such an intense concentration has both substantive and methodological consequences. Substantively, it supports the previous research which found weak class consciousness. Methodologically, the lack of variance confounds the utility of perceived class as a variable. Table IV, showing the means, standard deviations, minimums and maximums of working and middle class respondents on the dependent variable, illustrates this point:

TABLE IV

Characteristics of Attitude Score Distributions

Class	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
working	.286	.970	-3.47	2.11
Middle	.382	.960	-3.60	2.11

The distributions are strikingly similar, except for the means. There is a great deal of overlap in the two classes. This could explain the inadequacy of perceived social class as an explanatory variable. As reflected in Table II, the ethno-religious groups are more distinctively distributed. Therefore, the low paths may be a function of little distinction between the attitudes of different classes. It is also possible, of course, that social class is not a determinant of attitude. A similar study in a more class-conscious society (e.g., U.K., France) could answer this question.

In summary, Hypotheses I and II have been disproved. Ethnicity has a greater effect than class on policy liberalism, and the objective measures of class have proven to be stronger indicators than perceived class. The latter is especially puzzling, because it leaves us without a linkage mechanism. One alternative explanation questions the validity of perceived social class as an indicator in the United States. It is conceivable that the "American Dream" syndrome of middle class glorification results in most respondents placing themselves in the middle class, despite their social conditions.

The expected differences between large cities and small towns posited in Hypothesis III were found. Ethnicity becomes more important in an urban context. The hypothesis was tested in two ways. First, a limited test using those respondents who, at age 16, were living in open country or on a farm, and those who were living in an urban area with a population greater than 250,000. Then, in a more general test, respondents were divided into residences over and under 50,000.

The results are shown in Table V:

TABLE V

Rural/Urban Differences - Class & Ethnicity

Path	Rural-Farm	Urban	Under 50,000	Over 50,000
Attitude-Income	.09	.08	.07	.09
Attitude-Occup	.10	-.06	.07	.03[*]
Attitude-ERG[a]	.09	.24	.10	.21
P'cd Class-Inc	.18	.25	.16	.24
P'cd Class-Occ	.22	.24	.23	.21
Income-Occup	.25	.23	.25	.23
Occup-ERG	.01[*]	.09	.02	.10
N	793	427	1589	955

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[*] - Insignificant; not twice its standard error

[a] - Ethno-Religious Group

As hypothesized, there is a dramatic difference in the relationship between ethnicity and attitude when place of residence as a youth is controlled. In urban areas ethnicity is a much more powerful determinant of attitude than it is in rural areas, or in the general model. This lends support to the intuitive argument that increased ethnic heterogeneity leads to increased ethnic awareness. The pattern of ethnic segregation found in many of the larger American cities (Kantrowitz) compounds this, and ethnicity gains greater salience for what Wolfinger referred to as issue politics.

Two other differences between rural areas and urban areas appear in Table V. The relationships between policy liberalism and occupational status, and perceived class and income vary in the two environments. In urban areas, people in the lower status occupations are more liberal, and income is a stronger determinant of perceived class.

This provides a picture of a more divided urban environment, with class a more rigid construct, and with those in need more likely to favor government spending programs. Combined with the increased ethnic consciousness found in the cities, it becomes evident that we do indeed have urban centers with divisions along both class and ethnic lines.

Conclusions:

The analysis indicates that the results of previous studies, with their emphasis on voting behavior, are analogous to the roots of policy attitudes. A person's membership in an ethnic group has a definite influence on attitudes toward government spending. This impact appears to be stronger than the effect of the person's income, occupation, or perceived social class.

As mentioned before, it is useful to return to the Parsonian idea of parallel cultural and social systems. Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft can coexist, and the analysis shows that there is a transferral of attutides from one sphere to the other. Those norms developed in the context of the cultural subsystem are having an effect on preferences expressed in the social-political system.

The distinction between the two systems has not faded, as had been predicted by some. Traditional ethnic divisions still retain significance in the determination of attitudes impacting upon the modern social system.

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Political Science 134

Ethnic Politics in Urban America

M. Hanna   Fall, 1976

This course will examine the major ethnic groups in America through their historical and cultural development and through their present-day political import. By an "ethnic group" we mean any group of people which feels a common sense of identity on the basis of race, religion and/or national origin. In a society as pluralistic as ours, it is impossible to study every group and its political behavior. Therefore we will concentrate on five groups which seem most important because of their size, historical importance and/or present-day political activism: White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Catholics of European descent (basically the Irish-, Italian-, and Polish-American), Jews, Blacks, and Mexican-Americans. If there is strong class feeling that other groups should be added, we will try to do this. The course will examine each ethnic group's history, political and social attitudes and activities and its conflicts and compromises with other groups in the context of pluralist politics. Since this is a course in political science, our emphasis will always be on group political behavior, with attention given to history, culture and sociology to the extent that they illuminate this. At the end of the term, we will look at some current political situations, in which ethnic conflicts are important, abortion, American reaction to the Middle East conflict, the struggle between Chaney and the Teamsters' Union and, especially, the bussing controversy. Guest speakers actively involved with various ethnic groups and their activities will present about one-third of the lectures. Time will be reserved during each class period for questions and discussion.

Grades will be based on two short analytical papers of about 5 pages each (1/3), a subjective, take-home, mid-term exam (1/3), at each student's choice, either a take-home final or a final research paper of 10-12 pages (1/3). The first paper will be a short ethnic history of your own family. This history can include what you feel has been important about your family's life in America. It might include discussion of such questions as why and how your family came to America, what problems it faced here, what does it feel it has been able to accomplish here, how does it feel about the melting pot idea, what are its disappointments. The second paper will require the reading of a novel and a scholarly study on a group. For example, a student interested in Italian-Americans might read the novel, Christ in Concrete, and the study on Italian-Americans by Richard Gambino, Blood of My Blood. The student will then write a short analysis of the political socialization and culture of the group he has chosen as revealed in his reading. A student electing to write a final research paper instead of taking a final exam might choose such topics as the following: The ethnic factors in the 1976 New York State senatorial election; the Black Congressional caucus; ethnic factors in the Turkish Arms Embargo issue; the Arab and Israeli lobbies in Washington; urban renewal and the rise of the white ethnic movement; "red-lining" and black and white working class response; Catholic, Jews, Protestants and their attitudes toward abortion as indicated in survey research, etc.

Texts include the following:

Novack, M., The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic
Schrag, P., The Decline of the WASP

(continued)

Stone, C., Black Political Power in America
Moore, J., and Pachon, H., Mexican-Americans
Kramer, M. and Levy, S., The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections
Rubin, Lillian, Bussing and Backlash

The first five-page paper is due September 14. The second is due September 30. Mid-term exam will be handed out October 14 and will be due on October 19. Final research papers and final exams will be due the last day of class—December 14.

Political Science 332

Social Values and Public Policy

Spring Semester, 1977

Dennis L Thompson
LNG 81

Required texts: Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life
Lewis C. Mainzer, Political Bureaucracy
Basil Mitchell, Law, Morality and Religion
Charles Peters & Taylor Branch (eds.), Blowing the Whistle

Other readings are on reserve.

Seminar Outline

I. Sources of Values

A.	January 18	Seminar Organization Guest - Michael Novak Professor of Theology Syracuse University
B.	January 26	Ethical and Philosophical Foundations of Values
C.	February 2	Comparative Cultural Values: France and the United States
D.	February 9	Ethnically Derived Values Guest - Irving Levine Institute on Pluralism & Group Identity

II. Areas of Conflict

A.	February 16	Societal Conflicts
B.	February 23	Ethnic Conflict in France: The Basques Guest - James E. Jacob Department of Government Cornell University
C.	March 2	Ethnically Based Societal Conflicts in America
D.	March 9	Conflict of Organization and Values Guest - Mary Lepper Visiting Professor University of North Carolina

III. Accommodation of Values

A.	March 23	Democratic Responsibility
B.	April 13	Private Government
C.	April 20	Administrative Responsibility
D.	April 27	Decision-Making
	(May 3)	

Internships:

Student	Agency	Description
Louis DelValle	Broome County Willow Point Nursing Home	General administration.
Veronica Fauntleroy	Port Authority of New York and New Jersey	Administrative Management Training Program; also client representative for Personnel Department.
Nina Gill	Broome County Probation Department	Budget and productivity measurement.
John Pang	Broome County Legislative Assistant	Research for legislators.
Gail Pantel	Southern Tier Regional Planning Commission	Ethnic census.
Steve Presberg	Office of the President of the Borough of Manhattan	Liaison to the Community Planning Boards from the Borough President's Office.
Woody Taylor	City of Jamestown Municipal Planning Department	Housing and urban planning.

APPENDIX 6

Ethnic speakers:

Speaker	Topic
James Jacob Center of International Studies Cornell University	"Interactions Between Government Officials and Ethnic Groups Both in the U. S. and Abroad "
Michael Kramer President, MORE Magazine Author of The Ethnic Factor in American Politics	"Ethnic Factors in the 1976 Election "
Mary Lepper, Professor University of North Carolina Director, Higher Education Division, Office of Civil Rights, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare	"The Tension in Policy Implementation: The Case of Affirmative Action"
Irving Levine Director, Center for the Study of Group Pluralism	"Ethnically Derived Values"
Michael Novak President, EMPAC Author of The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic	"Bureaucratic Norms and Ethnic Values"
Barbara Oldwine Chairperson, local chapter of National Urban League	"Local Ethnic Groups and Community and Government Response"

ETHNICALLY BASED POLITICAL INTEREST GROUPS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOUR ETHNIC GROUPS

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ABSTRACT

ETHNICALLY BASED POLITICAL INTEREST GROUPS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOUR ETHNIC GROUPS

By

Mary T. Hanna, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Binghamton

Glazer and Moynihan have suggested that ethnic consciousness and organization may be increasing now because ethnic groups can function effectively as political interest groups in a modern welfare state. This paper is part of a comparative study of four American ethnic groups, Jews, white Catholics of European descent, Blacks and Mexican-Americans. The study analyzes the organization and activities of the groups by criteria suggested by David Truman for interest group evaluation: leadership, communication, unity, overlapping membership, strategic position and society's "rules of the game."

The paper deals with a single component of the study, elite interviews with the leadership of the groups' voluntary associations. Interviewed were leaders of such organizations as the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Nation of Islam and the G.I. Forum.

Analysis of elite leadership interviews indicated the following. The leadership of Jewish, white Catholic, Black and Mexican-American organizations all agreed that there has been a significant rise recently in conscious ethnic identification and organization, although they attribute the rise to differing causes. Black groups strongly believed that the development of white ethnicity came as a reaction and is a threat to Black political achievement. Different issues were important to different groups. Some did hold potential for inter-group conflict, especially affirmative action and abortion. Many issues important to each group seemed resolvable without generating serious inter-group conflict, however. White ethnic groups seemed somewhat more likely to stress lobbying as a prime political activity; non-white groups to stress voter registration and mobilization. White Catholics of European descent and Blacks most strongly felt that their cultural and political expression and activities were inhibited to an extent by general American norms.

Although leaders in all four groups saw some potential for increased group conflict with the rise of a more ethnically based politics in America, only Blacks, troubled by continued racism and a belief that gains made by them in the 1960s are now being erased, considered the possibility for group conflict as relatively serious. Jews, white Catholics and Mexican-Americans were inclined to believe that the process of engagement in political activities, with the inter-relationships and compromise that entails, would act as an educational agency, mitigating ethnic group conflict.

The comparative study from which data in this paper is drawn was funded in part by a Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowship, a grant-in-aid from the Research Foundation of the State University of New York and an Ethnic Heritage Studies grant from the U. S. Office of Education. Their support is gratefully acknowledged. The author wishes also to cite the work of two graduate students in the Department of Political Science at S.U.N.Y.-Binghamton, Rudy Wilson and Corwin Yulinsky. They conducted many of the interviews analyzed in this paper and their work was always conscientious and intelligent.

INTRODUCTION

Within the last decade a new development in the American political system, the emergence of a renewed and strengthened ethnic consciousness and politics, seems to demand a re-examination of interest group activity as this applies to what are now ethnically based political interest groups.

Scholars studying the rise in ethnicity generally define it as a sense of identity with and pride in belonging to an ethnic group which can be based on race, religion, culture, national origin, language or tribe.[1] Most scholars trace the resurgence of ethnicity in this country to the development of the Black power and pride movement of the middle 1960s and note similar developments among such groups as Indians, Mexican-Americans, Catholics, etc.[2]

The extent to which ethnic consciousness and organization have become politicized is striking. Indeed, Glazer and Moynihan insist that the resurgence in ethnicity has occurred and continues in part because of the facility with which ethnic groups can function as political interest groups under conditions prevalent in a modern welfare state.[3] Examples of this abound now in our national life: i.e., demands for job and university preference based on race or national origin, the so-called Jewish or Israeli lobby, renewed Indian land claims, abortion, etc. To date, there has been no thorough, scholarly attempt to apply interest group theory to an examination of ethnically-based interest groups, their activities, organization, problems and successes.[4] In a dissertation for Cornell University, now being considered for publication, I began such an examination with a case study of Catholics as an ethnic political interest group.

Study of the literature on politics and ethnicity led to the conclusion that ethnic groups define politics as the attempt, through influencing or working through some part of the political system, to do three things: 1. Obtain benefits, especially of an economic nature; 2. achieve recognition of the legitimacy of the group's value system as well as (sometimes rather than) that held by society as a whole; 3. gain influence in, if not overturn, the large institutions dominating American society, financial institutions, industrial organizations, the military, etc. With these definitions in mind, the examination of Catholics and how they function as an ethnic political interest group was conducted in terms of the problems raised by David Truman and others -- unity, leadership, communication, strategic position, overlapping membership and society's agreed-upon "rules of the game."[5]

The study of Catholic political activity raised questions of possible significance to ethnic political interest group activity in general. These questions seemed to warrant replication of the study on a comparative basis to test the extent to which concerns and problems raised by Catholic interest group activities were true generally in regard to ethnic activity and to draw conclusions regarding the impact of ethnic political interest group activity on our political and social systems. For the past ten months, therefore, I have been engaged in such a comparative study, examining in terms of interest group theory the ethnically-based political interest organizations and activities of four groups: Jews, white Catholics of European descent, Blacks and Mexican-Americans.[5]

These groups were selected because they are the most politically prominent. Members of these groups seem to demonstrate a conscious sense of ethnic identification, although its strength may vary within and between the groups. Each has developed a number of organizations devoted to group aims and provided elite ethnic leadership. All have recently risen dramatically in numbers of representatives holding political office. I selected these groups, also, because they would permit comparisons in ethnic cohesion, goals, tactics and success between "white" and "non-white" ethnic groups which may prove significant.

Following the pattern already used in the Catholic study, research and analysis of the groups are being conducted on four levels: National surveys to determine the characteristics and attitudes of Jews, Blacks, etc., generally; elite interviews with the leaders of each group's voluntary organizations; elite interviews with representatives from the four groups serving in Congress; detailed case studies of a major issue important to each group, how each is trying to effect issue-outcome, the degree of unity demonstrated regarding it among the group as a whole and its Congressional component. On each level the groups, their organization, political activity, problems and successes are being examined using the criteria regarding interest group evaluation suggested by David Truman.[8]

The present paper is a preliminary analysis of one segment of this study — the data derived from the elite interviews with the leaders of each group's voluntary organizations. Interviews with white Catholics of European descent are those conducted for the original study on Catholics, dating from 1973-1974. Interviews with the organizational leaders from the other three groups were done during the spring of 1977. Two graduate students from S.U.N.Y.-Binghamton, Corwin Yulinsky and Rudy Wilson, and I did the interviewing. Although interviewing for the complete study is still going on, by the time this paper was prepared we had interviewed 21 Jewish leaders, 23 white Catholics of European descent, 16 Black leaders and 13 Mexican-Americans. Interviewees were told that we were interested in obtaining a general survey of leadership opinion and that direct attribution of comments and information by name would not be made.

Since this was designed to be a study of politics, voluntary associations whose interests and activities are wholly non-political were not included, for example, religious commissions with strictly ritualistic or doctrinal interests, or purely social organizations. Otherwise, an effort was made to assure inclusion of all group organizations which might be engaged in any kind of activity with possible political effects. The lists of organizations were culled from major newspaper accounts of group activity going back to 1970, from books and articles on the various groups or issues in which they were concerned and from knowledgeable informants involved with the four groups concerned. An effort was made to include organizations and to interview leadership from all parts of the political spectrum, radical, "main-line" and arch-conservative. Since this was a study of national organization and leadership, groups with merely local impact were not included.[9]

This paper does not purport to be anything but a partial and preliminary analysis of the political interest group aspects of ethnicity and ethnic organization. I cannot present here a thorough analysis of ethnically-oriented political interest groups and activities in accord with Truman's criteria because such an evaluation is dependent on an examination of more than organizational leadership. To analyze the criteria of unity and communication we need comparison of elite and mass attitudes, for example. To fully understand the effect of society's "rules of the game," the Catholic study showed the importance of examining the attitudes and actions of Catholic Congressmen, powerholders able to act on issues and pulled by both their ethnic ties and wider public and institutional interests. A determination of a group's strategic position probably involves study of the demography of the group as a whole, its organizational elite and ethnic Congressmen.

Analysis of the organizational leadership of the four ethnic groups, however, can provide much of value and interest to the study of ethnicity and its political effects. We can examine the extent to which the leadership of the groups agree that there has been a rise in ethnic consciousness and organization both within their own group and generally, the factors they believe account for this and the effects they see these have on their own organization and group and on society in general. The issues important to each group can be examined to gain an understanding of what kinds of things tend to unify each group and the kinds of political goals it is likely to have, as well as the potential for conflict between groups as a result of differing issue attitudes and goals. We can also determine the kinds of political activities each group pursues. Does it rely on voter education and mobilization, direct Congressional and administration lobbying, or mainly on public statements by prestigious group representatives? These strategies tell us something about the leadership's view of the group's strength and the kinds of tactics we are likely to see involved in ethnic politics, and permit some evaluation of success.

Leadership interviews also reveal something of the extent to which particular groups seek group separation or coalition. They thus give us clues regarding the permeability of ethnic group organization with its implications for compromise or conflict with other groups and with society generally. Finally, we can analyze the ways in which society's "rules of the game" act, in the opinions of the leadership, to inhibit or facilitate ethnic political activities, the particular kinds of strictures underwhich leaders feel their ethnic group as a whole and its organizations operate and their reactions to those strictures, with all the implications these have for group participation or alienation in American society. Examination of all these factors allows us to make comparisons regarding the extent to which the recent rise in group consciousness has affected various ethnic groups and the political directions they have taken.

Of course I am basing my analysis here only on the expressed attitudes and opinions of Jewish, white Catholic, Black and Mexican-American ethnic group leaders.[10] But the men and women interviewed were all leaders of groups with national import. They are the people who direct group activities on a day-to-day basis, largely formulate political tactics and activities for the group, act as spokesmen for it and generally wield considerable influence within the group as a whole and in society's perception of the group. Thus, their statements and attitudes on ethnic politics would seem to have to have significance for a study of ethnic politics and how it operates.

Scholars and journalists seem agreed that there has been an energetic resurgence of racial, religious, cultural and other kinds of group consciousness in America. The resurgence can indicate a widening of American democracy, a new way in which more people enter and participate in our pluralistic political system. It can also mean a growth in divisiveness and group conflict in which the emotional content often found in group identity and group action makes compromise and conciliation more than ordinarily difficult. An understanding of ethnic leadership attitudes is a first step toward determining the extent and impact of ethnic resurgence and ethnic politics on our society.

THE JEWISH LEADERS

"Jewish people from the beginning have had organizations. People have been attracted to organizational life. Membership is not as tough a game to play among Jews as in general it seems to be.... They are ready, willing to join; it's easy to get them to join. Historically, I think Jews are more organization-prone than other people."[11]

The woman who spoke, a leader in a Zionist organization, reflected a widespread sentiment among Jewish leaders and a real truth. Most Jewish leaders spoke with some pride of the rich, complex, long-time tradition of Jewish organizational life in America. They often used this organizational life as proof that a widespread sense of Jewish identity and Jewish group action predates any recent rise in ethnic consciousness generally in the United States. Many agreed that the interests and activities of Jewish organizations had been changed and influenced by recent political and social events, including the general rise in group consciousness. A few debated this, insisting that changes were changes in language, forced by changes in the thinking of other groups and of government. Said one, "The Jewish organizations would have fought the Arab boycott thirty years ago but wouldn't have called it an ethnic struggle. We have not changed our goals but language has changed."[12]

The fact that the Jews have and have had an extremely large and complex organizational life is undeniable. Although they account for slightly under three percent of the American population, probably no other ethnic group compares with them in terms of numbers and diversity of organizations with national impact. Perhaps only if one includes the Catholic Church with all its subsidiary conferences, committees and agencies can one say that any of the other groups we are examining approaches the Jews in organizational complexity.

Rise in ethnic consciousness

Most Jewish leaders agreed that a rise in ethnic consciousness has occurred generally in the United States and that it has had an impact on their group. Many gave specific examples of an increased interest in Jewish culture and in Zionism which they had seen among their own organization's members. Several leaders felt that the impact of increased ethnicity on their organization had been to make their members and leaders readier to act openly on political issues, to struggle more openly for political goals. "We used to say, 'Speak softly, be charming.' Now there is a more open acceptance of the idea of power."[13]

Several felt, too, that increased group conflict in the United States was putting pressure on their organizations to change goals and activities. The changes most often mentioned were an increased attention to specifically Jewish rather than general public interests and to a more conservative rather than the traditionally liberal Jewish stance. These are reflected in statements by two leaders of long-time, "establishment" Jewish organizations. Said one, "We see the rise of ethnicity in our organization in our involvement now with Israel, but even more. The interests of our women have switched from public affairs . . . we've stayed in Washington, we're lobbying on issues and so forth. But, in addition to that now, we're also becoming more and more involved with activities concerning the quality of Jewish life."[14] Said another, "We've always stood for sort of vague social positions that didn't really affect us much. The people below won't have that now. After all, we're safe on the streets, well, relatively safe, and they're not."[15]

While agreeing that their group and organizations had been affected by the rise in ethnicity, most Jewish leaders also insisted that Jewish identity and consciousness predated the rise. They pointed to the Jewish role as a separate people throughout most of history. "You know, we didn't wake up in the 1970s and say we were Jews. For 2000 years we've been Jews and aware of being Jewish."[16] When Jewish leaders agreed that their historic sense of identity had increased lately, they tended to date that to two crucial events in American Jewish history, the holocaust and the birth of the state of Israel. "The birth of Israel — that was the rallying point."[17]

Several insisted that the renewed interest in Jewish identity and culture sparked by Israel was compounded and extended by the sense of disillusionment sweeping especially younger Jews as they felt increasingly isolated from the civil rights movement by Blacks and later as Jews saw many of their former liberal allies aligning themselves with the Third World against Israel. "The American Friends Service Committee, the Episcopalians, the United Church of Christ, the very groups which had always been closest to us, got the Third World bit and came in a pack against Israel, with anti-Israeli feelings, allied with the Third World. . . . It is newspapers like the *Monitor*, the *Christian Century*, which are now denouncing Israel and we Jews are saying, 'If these are our friends, it's time to put the wagons in a circle.'"[18]

Finally a few Jewish leaders accented to another source for the rise in ethnic consciousness, one we will see discussed also by white Catholics of European descent — the impact of government. "We are shaped by the fact that others think ethnically. In part it's because of public and private funding."[19] Money and other benefits, said this leader, are now being determined on an ethnic basis and so the pressure is there to represent one's organization as ethnic and to intensify ethnic identity and organization to get one's fair share.

Jewish organizational activities

Many kinds of political activity were specifically mentioned by leaders, especially lobbying with Congress and the administration and fund-raising for political and social causes. A number of leaders reported at the time of the interviews that their representatives were lobbying hard in Washington on the Arab boycott bill. Specifically mentioned as lobbying goals, also, were the ethnic heritage studies bill and various bills for federal funding of Jewish studies and Jewish schools. Leaders also described having agency representatives in Washington to alert them to specific grants for which they might be eligible. Fund-raising, particularly in aid of Israel, was also often mentioned but not as a political, rather as a charitable activity, a carrying out of what was seen as the traditional Jewish religious and cultural value of community self-help and of aid for the poor.

Most striking among Jewish organizations is the high degree of communication that exists. Many leaders mentioned close communication and cooperation between their own and other Jewish organizations over a whole range of issues, including the Arab boycott and affirmative action. Most also stressed the close ties that had to be maintained with memberships. We shall see that Catholics and Blacks talk often of the need to "educate" their people on political issues. The Mexican-Americans talked of their people in terms of education and simply of beginning basic organization among them. Probably reflecting the high degree and long history of organization among them, the Jews didn't speak of tie-maintenance as an educational or organizational activity but as a consultative one.

Issues

Asked on which political issue she felt Jews were most likely to be united, which was most important to them, one leader answered emphatically, "Israel, hands down!" Certainly this was the issue mentioned by almost every Jewish leader. Nearly all spelled out as most important four issues, all inter-related: Israel, Soviet Jewry, the Arab boycott, anti-semitism in any form. As one leader put it, "Any threat to the security of Israel, also any indication that there is a re-emergence of anti-semitism in the United States -- that unites Jews."[20]

Another issue mentioned as important to Jews was the separation of Church and State. "Any infringement of that separation scares and unites us."[21] There was emphasis, too, on support for human and social values and programs and an emphasis on the fact that this was a traditional Jewish concern. Explained the leader of a Jewish workers 'organization, "When we ask for legislation, we ask for legislation benefitting people in general. We've always done this and it has gotten to be accepted policy among Jews in general."[22]

Finally, Jewish leaders mentioned as important three issues about which they seemed to have mixed feelings: crime, Jewish poverty and affirmative action. From what they said, it was obvious that they felt pressured on these issues from their own memberships and from their fellow Jews in general, although they demonstrated that they understood and often shared general Jewish concern here. The fact that leaders had mixed feelings here seemed to derive from their understanding that the issues of crime and affirmative action involved group conflict, especially with Blacks, and from some concern that these issues represented a change from the general liberal social positions Jewish organizations have traditionally assumed.

Many Jewish leaders described the concern with crime as becoming more and more important, especially to urban working and lower middle class Jews. Sometimes, eliptically, they added that crime was often associated in many people's minds with minority groups and that it was perhaps influencing Jews, more supportive generally of minority groups than other whites, in their feelings about these groups.

The leader of a Jewish fraternal order accented to the effect of crime on his order's membership drives and activities. "It's actually easier to organize in the suburbs. It's more difficult in large cities because of crime. People are afraid to go out at night to meetings." Later, he added, "Our members used to give money to a lot of Black causes. Now some of them say to me, 'I wouldn't give a dime now.'"[23] Another said, "Your communities before were wide open. People spent a lot of time on the street. Now they can't there used to be Jewish shops, Italian shops. When you talk about issues, you have to remember that an important issue in your immediate social environment, your immediate condition, is whether you can walk through the streets." He added, "I'm not sure this is an ethnic problem, though. It's probably a general problem."[24]

A woman leader connected the pressure for positions on crime and poverty with working class Jewish feeling. "We're being pushed by poorer Jews. The very idea that there was a Jewish poor is of very recent origin. They feel they're in danger of their lives, their property, with the crime rate and so forth. . . . We pride ourselves on taking care of our own. We didn't know about our poor. The push is coming from blue collar groups and now we're feeling it."[25]

Affirmative action was also raised as an issue on which group division was apparent and on which leaders are feeling pushed. Said one, "We were one of the two Jewish organizations that were on the side of the University of Washington on the last affirmative action case, but now we're beginning to re-think our involvement here. . . . I'm supposed to present information on our stand at our next meeting and I don't know what our board will decide to do. The line between goals and quotas is very tenuous. I know because I've sat on affirmative action committees for years. All Jewish organizations have backed affirmative action. If you asked them, they'd say they still favor it. How can they not? But the question is becoming extremely delicate because of the scrambling for jobs by the ethnics, not just the Jews, but the Italians and Poles. I don't think this worry about affirmative action is so surprising. The Jews seemed so secure. For a long time they had the highest income. Now they're worried. They're being pushed."[26]

A man who had served with a number of leading Jewish organizations gave an explanation for the intensity of feeling: "After World War II you saw the promotion of the doctrine of restitution. If a group has been unfairly deprived, they have the right to make it up. This was enunciated at Nurnberg but here it was applied to Blacks. Blacks said, 'Restore to me what has been taken from me. Let me rise in a quantum leap to make up for the past.' I don't think whites see what happened in this way; they don't see it as restitution but say, 'Hey, give me some too!'. . . If we were in a period of prosperity I don't think there would have been any conflict, at least not so much conflict. . . . If we were in a period of prosperity you could choose a class of 300 on merit, whatever race, religion, etc., merit alone, and then you could say, for restitution, we will also include 20 Blacks, even though they don't measure up to the rest of the students. You could expand your classes. But we can't do this, so we have to take the 20 places from the 300 and this is why people get so upset."[27]

No Jewish leader linked either crime or affirmative action with anti-semitism. In fact, almost every leader remarked at some point in his or her interview that they felt that real anti-semitism as a serious force was gone from the United States. Strongly projected, though, was a sense of pressure on them from Jews in general on these issues and a sense that they understood and to an extent shared their members' feelings here, feelings which it would not be an exaggeration to say were partly that of being threatened. Most also showed some ambivalence in talking about these issues. They seemed difficult subjects for them to deal with. The leaders themselves mentioned repeatedly that these were new issues in view of their organizations' and the Jewish group's generally liberal, public interest concerns.

Values

Asked what they thought were some of the chief values in American Jewish life, leaders stressed above all charity, interpreted both in the sense of the community caring for its own needy and in the larger sense of a general concern for the needy and deprived in the United States and in the World. "When Jewish youngsters went to Selma, some Jews said, 'You're forsaking your own for others,' but the youngsters replied often, 'No, we're emphasizing the Jewish tradition of helping the disadvantaged.' The truth is that a little of both were present."[28] Another explained charity as both an important religious and cultural value. "Jews may not go to church but their Jewishness shows in what they do. Jewish charitable expression actually has its base in Jewish religion."[29]

The two other values often mentioned were the importance of education and of organization. A number spoke of pride in Jewish achievements in literature, science and research, one woman adding, "If any Jew tells you he doesn't count the Jewish names listed among the Nobel prize winners every year, he's lying."[30] Almost every leader spoke of the Jewish belief in organization both for group and general advancement.

Disunities within the ethnic group

Almost all of the leaders tended to stress the unity of the Jews much more than they did any disunities. They emphasized the extent to which their organization cooperated with other Jewish groups and the extent to which Jews in general were united in regard to what were seen as central group interests, such as Israel and anti-semitism. Typical of the description of basic unity was one man's statement regarding the three major Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. "They arose among Jews decades ago to protect political rights. They had other philosophical objectives, too, but basically they were to protect political rights. . . . They were all shaped by events. They are virtually the same."[31] A number of the leaders had worked for more than one Jewish organization during their lives and apparently did not find the transition from one to another difficult.

Some divergencies were mentioned, however. A few leaders condemned the more radical, extremist groups, especially the Jewish Defense League. Some also pointed to differences of opinion among Jews on how openly and in what ways Jews should try to influence political issues and actions. "There are still some Jews, for example, who say it would be a fearful thing if a Jew ever ran for President."[32] Most felt, however, that the old feelings of fear over arousing anti-semitism through open participation in political activity and political power has greatly lessened, especially among younger Jews.

Some also pointed to differences of opinions among Jews on how strongly and in what ways Israel should be supported.

Some say, 'We support the idea of Israel but we still have the right to criticize Israeli government policies we don't agree with — like treatment of the Arabs.' Others feel you have to support Israel completely or that criticism of Israeli policies should come from Israelis, those who have to live with the policies."[33] "At first," said a woman, "there was a big struggle in the organization about . . . how deeply we should get involved with Israel. There was a big struggle here before we got involved because of the German-Jewish background of our organization, our Junior-Leaguish kind of thing. Our women were assimilated."[34]

In view of the seeming collaboration among most organizations and the unity on central issues, these divergencies among Jewish organizations and leaders seem fairly minor. Unity seems far more extensive than disunity. One leader gave an explanation. "We are very comfortable in the political arena. With the exception perhaps of some small, non-mainstream Jewish organizations, I think Jewish organizations in general feel that they are comfortably in the mainstream of the country . . ."[35]

Extent of collaboration with other ethnic groups and general American institutions

Except for Zionist group leaders who said they worked only with Jews, Jewish leaders emphasized coalition. The role Jews had played in setting up community relations boards in many cities was mentioned by several, some of whom had worked on the boards. Most also mentioned collaboration with specific non-Jewish organizations with members and aims similar to theirs — women's groups, professional organizations, men's fraternal organizations, etc. They also emphasized Jewish organizational and personal participation in various general causes, the anti-war movement and civil rights particularly, although here there was some feeling of disillusionment and betrayal as a result of the experiences.

The reasons given for such widespread collaboration with non-Jewish groups and in general causes were the Jewish value-emphasis on charity, obligating work for the general social benefit, and the political necessity of collaboration for success. "No group can stand off by itself entirely. It's not good for the group, let alone society. . . . Strength lies in developing a consortium. Mutual needs can be met by cooperation."[36]

Strictures felt against Jews acting as an ethnic interest group

Jewish leaders did not feel that the American system or American societal norms inhibited political organization and activity by Jews. In fact, the opposite was apparent. A number spoke of the feeling of freedom Jewish immigrants had had upon coming to a democratic society where they could practice their religion and participate in society generally and the effect they believed this has had on subsequent Jewish political participation efforts. "America for Jewish immigrants was not just an economic theory but a chance to realize themselves in every way. If not them, then their children. At least they hoped for this, even if they didn't quite believe it always. And by and large this has happened, this has been the case."[37] Many spoke of strong Jewish organization as an evidence that there were no strictures. "Strictures?" queried one. "No. By and large the American Jewish community feels that the U.S. is the most fertile and wonderful country in which it can operate."[38]

Possibilities for ethnic conflict

Most Jewish leaders agreed that there was a possibility for increased group division and conflict as a result of rising ethnic identity and organization but they tended not to think the possibility overly real or of great concern. A number felt that there was less group conflict now than in the 1960s when they felt there was a greater move toward radicalism and separatism among minority groups, especially Blacks. Jews seemed to believe that increased ethnic identity, organization and participation might lessen rather than intensify conflict because participation in the political process tended to educate groups about one another and their needs and teach the value of compromise and collaboration.

"The trick is," said one, "to demonstrate to some groups that without abandoning group interests we can gain common interests by joining together. The goals of some groups need not conflict with the goals of others. . . . It won't be easy because these kinds of conflicts feed on themselves. Men who feel aggrieved may get caught up in a jungle of their own, see their own needs as paramount. If all function in just their own field, we'll have a nation of warring minorities. But in America there is a growing awareness among those sophisticated in the political field that they can gain greater clout if they put their efforts together. The give-and-take in the process overcomes dangers."[39]

THE WHITE CATHOLICS OF EUROPEAN DESCENT LEADERS

Catholics present speical problems in a study of ethnicity because of the fact that Catholics may, in varying degrees, derive their sense of identity from two different sources -- their religion and their national origin, Irish-, Italian-, Polish-American, etc. The dichotomy is strengthened by the fact that they also have formed organizations around each of these identity sources.

Interviews conducted for this study showed that Catholic leaders of organizations associated with the institutional Church universally stressed religion as the identity factor most important to them. Leaders associated with what has often been called the white Catholic ethnic movement[40] tended to stress national origin as most important, but they had difficulty describing where, even for themselves, religious identity ended and national origin began. "It's a mixture."

Thus, we interviewed white Catholic leaders in organizations directly or indirectly connected with the Church, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, for example, the United States Catholic Conference, anti-abortion organizations, etc., and leaders of national origin groups, especially the new, politically active, white ethnic groups which have arisen in many parts of the country in the last ten years. Interviews showed many differences between "religious" Catholic leaders and national-origin or "ethnic" leaders, but they also showed important similarities.[41]

Rise in ethnic consciousness

Both religious and ethnic leaders agreed that there had been a sharp rise in Catholic consciousness and organization over the past ten years. They pointed to somewhat different sources for the rise, however. Religious leaders believed that Catholics had been spurred into a new consciousness of what it meant to be Catholic and into new kinds of organization and participation in society by the Ecumenical Council and subsequent Church reforms which emphasized Church and individual Catholic responsibility to act in the world.[42] "Attitudes supposedly missing in the Church were filled in by the Vatican Council. . . . The Second Vatican Council gave us a new sense of what a Catholic should be, stressed the great obligation we have to address ourselves to the needs of the world."[43]

A second factor to which they also attributed importance was simply white Catholic mobility, the postwar rise in educational and occupational status, breaking down what some called the Catholic "ghetto" mentality, and the subsequent movement of Catholics on a large scale into American society and political participation generally. "The laity is more educated now," insisted one woman leader. "The American Catholic is secure now, feels secure about saying what he thinks."[44]

Catholic ethnic leaders also tended to stress mobility as a factor in what they agreed was a recent rise in group consciousness among Catholics, but they also spoke of the impact on white Catholics of the Black power and pride movements. "Catholic ethnic consciousness," said one in a typical statement, "came out of Black consciousness. Black people, with the Black power movement, began to say that Black is beautiful and they became beautiful. As they found their own identity, they found a new kind of self-consciousness and a self-confidence. . . . White Catholic ethnics saw this. So someone like Mike Novak could begin saying, 'What's wrong with being Slovak?'"[45] Another said, "After the civil rights movement and the civil rights bill was passed, Catholic ethnics began to see that it was all right to forget the old melting pot myth, which really was a myth, and to push for their own groups."[46]

Both religious and ethnic leaders also described the effect of government funding and policies as an important factor. "As parochial schools developed problems, for example, Catholic leaders began to take an interest in the legislative process in Albany and in Washington, too. . . In order to get the money they need for education and other projects, they had to get involved, had to take an interest."[47] Said an ethnic leader, "Congress recently passed an Ethnic Heritage bill, for the first time allocating money to the research and teaching of all ethnic heritages, and for the first time, in regard to this bill, white Catholic ethnics joined with other groups to lobby for it politically."[48]

White Catholics of European Descent organizational activities

Religious leaders stressed such activities as educating and organizing the Catholic people on political issues, lobbying, especially with Congress and state legislatures and taking public stands on controversial matters, particularly the bishops taking such stands. Among religious leaders there was a sense of excitement in describing such activities because many of them felt that both the kinds of issues on which Catholics were now acting and the methods they were using were new to the Church. "Years past," said one national official, "we were much more influential, I think, in limited areas, institutional areas for the most part. If the Church wanted something done in an institutional area, wanted a Catholic appointment as ambassador, for example, it probably would have found it easier to have influence. Maybe it's because of the style in which things were done years ago. Spellman could make a call to an influential person in the government and get something done. . . The Church now is seeing whole new areas opening up where its influence is being felt. Especially social justice areas. . . . Important here is the creation of Church and Church-related organizations around these social justice issues. There is the Sisters Network, the Jesuit Offices for the Social Ministry, Catholics Concerned for the Urban Ministry, Baroni's organization[49]. . . . These new organizations are bound to have an effect because of their lobbying and educational aspect. They are educating their own people and Catholics in general about these issues."[50]

This man stressed educating Catholics in general as an important political activity for his organization and this was strongly stressed by all religious leaders. Remarked one, "I'd like to see us do more in the educational line. If we did, there would be no need for us to go to Capital Hill. The Catholic people could go themselves. I see education as the more important of our two functions -- us lobbying the Hill versus the Catholic people lobbying."[51]

One final factor needs to be mentioned in regard to Catholic religious leaders and political activity. Many leaders believed that increased Church participation in politics and on issues other than traditional institutional ones, school aid, abortion, etc., had come not just because of the liberalizing effect of the Council but because a new kind of professional, usually young, well-educated and lay, had come to the leadership of many Catholic organizations. "Our organization in the last few years has many more professional lay people working for it. This wasn't true earlier and it means it has added a degree of professionalism that wasn't here before in the same way. . . . The people involved here now have themselves been shaped by Vatican II and they aren't satisfied to address themselves to the same old questions."[52]

Catholic ethnic leaders also talked of lobbying and taking public positions as important political activities for their organizations. They were also involved with soliciting candidate support for issues important to their groups. Like the religious leaders, they put great emphasis on educating and organizing their own people, whom they saw not so much as Catholics in general but as the white, working class Catholic. One explained this by saying, "Politics to me means community development, helping people become aware of their own power, their own ability to solve their problems. If we can develop strong communities, that will have great political impact and neighborhoods will become aware of that power and try to get it."[53]

While Catholic religious and ethnic leaders often discussed similar political activities, the goals of these two kinds of Catholic organization seemed different. Religious leaders appeared to aim at influence; ethnic leaders at obtaining a share in power. These differences came through clearly in their discussions of what politics meant to them. Religious leaders often described politics as another way of carrying out Christian influence, using this description particularly in regard to their actions and interests in social reform measures. "I like being in politics," said a prominent lay official. "To me, it is one of the best ways of fulfilling Christian witness."[54]

Ethnic leaders saw politics as power. Said a [illegible] [illegible] "Politics is learning where the power is and how to get it."

Another ethnic leader enlarged on this: "Politics is the process of who gets and who doesn't, who gets power and resources and who doesn't. I am in politics to work for a redistribution of who gets what in all aspects and I want the distribution to be different from what it is now. White Catholic ethnics have gotten short shrift in cultural, not just economic things."[56]

Issues

All the Catholic leaders, religious and ethnic, agreed that the issue most uniting Catholics was abortion. No Catholic leader failed to support the anti-abortion movement. Usually abortion was spontaneously brought up by the interviewee before any question on it was posed, showing how much it was in the forefront of their minds. "I'm Catholic," an ethnic leader said, "and I have to admit that on the abortion issue I have real qualms. . . . I can't really understand the thinking of the pro-abortion people. I think it's that Protestants are much more, have always been much more confident in human right to intervene in life processes than we are."[57] A religious leader said, "The pro-abortion people want complete freedom on abortion and they also want the Church's silence. . . But we're here to stay."[58]

Although all leaders agreed with the Church's position on abortion and on the issue's unifying effects among Catholics, there were differences in the priority and approaches with which they regarded it. Ethnic leaders all opposed abortion as individual Catholics and said most Catholics in their organizations did, but they also said that their organizations would not take part in the political struggle on the issue. Their organizations, a number explained, had cultural but, more important, economic aims and they didn't see the abortion fight as part of that agenda. Many also pointed out that they were involved in coalitions with working class groups of other religious backgrounds and that injecting the issue of abortion would be divisive.

The debate found among the religious leaders was not on whether or not to participate but how much effort the Church should put into the struggle and how it should be effected. Conservative religious leaders saw abortion as an immediate, direct threat to the Catholic value system and believed it should be the center of all Catholic political activity. Liberals also saw the issue as one involving values and believed it should be fought but either believed equal effort should go into social reform issues or that the "right to life" concept should include more than abortion. "Respect for life," said one must be extended to abortion, to poverty, the aged, youth, peace and war."[59]

Other issues besides abortion were mentioned, including parochial school aid, on which, again, religious and ethnic leaders were united. Issue differences, however, did emerge between the two white Catholic leaderships. After abortion, religious leaders tended to stress most often what they termed "social justice" issues, an end to economic injustice and racial discrimination. They put great emphasis on the problems of the Spanish-speaking, mentioning particularly the Chavez farmworkers movement, with which a number had been involved, and the strike and boycott led by Mexican-Americans in Texas a few years ago against the Farah clothing company. Their social justice concerns were directed mainly toward the minority people in America, the Blacks and the Spanish-speaking, not toward the urban, white working class.

Ethnic leaders named as important to their organizations two goals, the development and legitimization of the concept of cultural pluralism and a larger share in economic and political benefits for, especially, the white Catholic working class. Cultural pluralism was important to nearly all. Many strongly denounced what they called "the melting pot myth." At the same time, many also said that their organizations were involved with people and organizations of different ethnic background in struggles to gain economic benefits of various kinds. Economic issues of importance to them were jobs, health care, neighborhood preservation, stopping "out-migration" from the cities, and obtaining what they regarded as a fair share of government money for anti-poverty, drug rehabilitation and other kinds of programs for white working class Catholics.

We saw that Jewish leaders often felt pressured by the Jewish working class on issues. What we find among Catholics is that the religious leaders seem to be almost unaware of their own working class or of the nationally prominent white ethnic movement. Only four even mentioned these subjects, one critically. While insisting on their Catholicity, a number of ethnic leaders commented bitterly about this. Said one, "Those in social-issue-taking positions in the Church have absorbed the liberal/WASP/Jewish position, do-gooding for minority groups. . . . There's nothing there for Catholic ethnics. It's the Irish Church wanting to be like the WASPS. The ethnics in the Church have to fend for themselves."[60] "The Church hasn't done enough, a woman said. "It's not involved in the community. Do you know our figures show us Italians are third in New York in drug addiction, second in high school dropouts? If the Church had done its part, would we have drug addicts? Would we have dropouts?"[61]

Ethnic leaders here showed mixed emotions. They feel they must struggle for the white working class Catholic and their struggle often involves coalitions with some Black, Hispanic and Jewish groups. Yet they see the Church with which they are so much involved concerned with minorities to what they believe is their exclusion; they feel the need to criticize this although it takes the form of criticism of both the Church and some of their coalition partners.

Values

Both religious and ethnic leaders tended to emphasize the family and the idea of community as important values. Several pointed out that these were probably strongly felt among Catholics because they seemed to grow out of a combination of Catholic religious and national origin cultures. "Catholicism is important," said one, "in influencing the value structure, in regard to the family, for example, but then I think of the Italians and I wonder if this isn't an ethnic rather than a religious characteristic."[62]

Another leader showed the wider meaning of community which also surfaced in both religious and ethnic interviews: "We've about reached the end of the road in America of absolute individualism and I think we are ready now to consider the alternative of communalism or perhaps a compromise of some sort, a creative integration of . . . the best of each. Think about how villages are laid out. The old New England village was strung out along a road, houses one after another in a line, a church, more houses, all side by side in a line. People here are separated out, each facing, not one another, but forward, alone. The Italian or the Mexican village, though, has a completely different shape. It takes the form of a circle, the houses forming around a central piazza. People living in a circle have to face one another. Calvinists believed that you and you alone were responsible for your salvation. . . . In Catholicism there has always been the intermediaries and more than that, the sense of a Catholic community, communalism. . ."[63]

Disunities within the ethnic group

Throughout this section I have been talking about Catholic religious and ethnic leaders. Certainly one cannot overlook the fact that there are two sources from which many Catholics draw identity and that in regard to political activity one can talk about Catholicism in terms of institutional Church action and, as well, in terms of the white Catholic ethnic movement. How deep a division this means is difficult to determine. Certainly ethnic leaders reacted to what they considered Church indifference to the working class with some anger and certainly religious leaders showed little awareness of Catholic working class problems. However, the ethnic leaders did consider themselves Catholics, in many cases deeply believing ones. A number of the major leaders in the white Catholic ethnic movement also are priests.[64]

In addition to the divergencies within the white Catholic world revealed possibly by the differences between religious and ethnic leaders, the other major divergency which appeared was within the religious group. That was ideological. Most religious leaders were liberal in orientation but some were conservative. The liberals seldom disparaged the conservatives. Asked about the Church's right wing, one shrugged. "I'm not afraid of the religious right wing or particularly concerned about it. James Buckley, for example, is supposed to be a conservative. Well, if Buckley is the biggest conservative threat I have to worry about, I'm glad. . . . I think the re-emergence of the Catholic right wing is a very healthy thing. It might in turn answer some of the extravagances of the left."[65]

The conservatives tended to be more critical. Their major argument was that the Church betrays itself in taking up liberal causes. "The right wing in the Church is growing," one asserted, "because the attempt to synthesize Catholicism and liberalism . . . is a failure. It can't be done. In trying to organically combine Catholicism and liberalism, Catholicism disappears completely and liberalism takes over."[66]

How severe the ideological divergency is is difficult to determine. Conservatives and liberals were generally careful to mention their areas of agreement as well as disagreement. The conservative quoted above insisted, for example, that most conservatives do not oppose Council reforms but only what they regard as some of the extravagances which followed. They both described similar value systems. The unity on the abortion issue, too, seems to have had somewhat of a healing effect.[67]

Extent of collabortion with other ethnic groups and general American institutions

Both religious and ethnic leaders stressed the extent to which they and their organizations worked with non-Catholic groups and various American institutions. Religious leaders particularly stressed common action with other church organizations and with both Catholic and non-Catholic legislators. Ethnic leaders stressed the common interests and activities they shared with non-Catholics, including minority, working class and neighborhood associations. However, it seems that the degree of collabortion and the specific non-Catholic groups with which Catholics unite are affected by both the Catholic value system and by the particular issues involved.

A religious leader who does a great deal of lobbying for his organization termed his work "schizophrenic" because of this. "If it is an institutional bill, school aid, abortion, something like that, we have a kind of list of those Catholic legislators most amenable to introducing or sponsoring bills for us. . . . On other kinds of issues, prison reform, welfare, O.E.O., we're arm-in-arm with the liberal Jews. It makes for a kind of weird, schizoid relationship."[68]

A similar kind of divergency emerged in interviews with ethnic leaders. Most described in detail the efforts they made to work with non-Catholic, working class groups on common economic problems. "We've been working for two years with Blacks and Puerto Ricans," said one leader. "People are people. We're all working with the same problems. White people. Black people. When you go into a community, poor people are poor people."[69] She and other ethnic leaders, though, also indicated some of the problems involved with their own efforts toward a multi-ethnic approach and the problems they had in educating their members on this. "I'm learning every day that I'm with the organization," a Washington-based leader said, "perceiving what the white ethnic problem really is, where the blue collar worker in our cities comes from, why he fears his Black neighbors. The white non-Catholic has largely moved out of the city. It's the Catholic ethnic who's still there."[70]

Several also pointed to a deeper, value-laden difference which they believed existed between white Catholics and Blacks and "liberals." "The economic interests of Blacks and their liberal supporters and white Catholic ethnics are the same, maybe, but they diverge on social issues. Their values aren't the same. White Catholic ethnics don't have the guilt feelings about the Blacks that liberals have. 'Look,' they say, 'we weren't even here. We weren't responsible for Blacks being slaves.' White Catholic ethnics' ways of looking at things are different from the Blacks and the liberals, more traditional, more family-oriented."[71]

Strictures felt against white Catholics of European descent acting as an ethnic interest group

There is no doubt that both religious and ethnic leaders felt some degree of stricture against their political activities. This should not be over-stressed. There was strong affirmation from both that Catholics feel freer and more self-confident in the political arena now than they had earlier. Certainly both groups were firmly committed to continued political activity.

Religious leaders felt some restriction on their activities because of the Constitutional proviso regarding separation of Church and State. They were at pains to describe their political activity as justified, even obligatory, under both citizen and Christian responsibility to act in the world. "The Ecumenical Council," explained one, "highlighted the responsibilities Catholics had to take action on peace, on human society."[72]

More important than Church-State separation as a felt restriction on Catholic activity, however, is the sense held by many religious and ethnic leaders that American society under-rates and opposes the Catholic value system and so denigrates Catholics and their actions. For religious leaders, proof of this was the Supreme Court decisions of 1973 prohibiting parochial school aid and permitting abortion. For ethnics, it was the image they believed many non-Catholics had of Catholics as uneducated, reactionary and racist.

Religious leaders to a great extent saw the abortion issue as a value clash in which hostility to Catholics was appearing. A man, who had written an article questioning the Supreme Court decisions on school aid and abortion as perhaps an expression of a wider sense of anti-Catholic hostility and derogation, reported, "The reaction to my article from bishops and other people was, 'By God, you're right!'" He went on, indicating the sense of disillusion and alienation which many voiced. "It was easy to be swept off our feet. You know, influenced by John F. Kennedy, by Pope John, we began to believe we were really part of the mainstream, accepted. Recent events have not borne this out."[73] A liberal who has worked with non-Catholic groups on many reform issues echoed him. "There is still anti-Catholic hostility in areas traditionally opposed to the Church, the areas of aid to education, abortion. People who disagree with the Church here disagree for a variety of reasons but I think reasonable people looking at the evidence would have to conclude that anti-Catholic hostility, bigotry, is a factor here..."[74]

The ethnic leaders' sense of stricture, of anti-Catholicism, derived chiefly from what they saw as disparagement of Catholics by the "liberal elite." The feeling of anger, disillusionment and some alienation that this engendered in them was much the same as that of religious leaders, although probably not as intense. They felt the disparagement was directed against both Catholics in general and the Church. One man declared, "Anti-Catholic hostility is dead among ordinary people. It's not dead among intellectuals. That's the only time now that I hear anti-Catholic hostility or a kind of horror about Catholicism."[75] Another described taking a prominent, activist priest to a city council meeting in New York and getting angry over some councilmen's reactions of surprise later that "such a liberal, intelligent man should be a Catholic and a priest."[76]

A few, however, suggested that the Catholic ethnic movement has emerged now in part because anti-Catholic hostility has lessened. "Thirty years ago it couldn't have happened. Polarization was still too high. We were still then basically a Protestant country. It could have been seen as too threatening. The confusion that could have occurred between religion and politics would have been profound."[77]

Possibilities for ethnic conflict

Despite the strictures discussed above and a certain level of anger and alienation on the part of white Catholic leaders, they don't seem to fear increased group political influence and activity in America or to see them as necessarily harmful. The reactions of both religious and ethnic leaders seemed to be that, for their own part, the strictures against Catholics called for more, not less, participation and that it was in the political arena that issues dividing groups could be resolved.

Although they accented to strictures against Catholic action and to a certain level of anti-Catholic hostility, both were quick to try to mitigate the extent of the hostility and the reasons for it. After discussing these topics, they tended to go on to discuss the non-Catholic groups with which they did cooperate. Those most closely tied to the anti-abortion movement, for example, were also most inclined to insist that this was more than a Catholic issue and involved more than Catholics.

Both religious and ethnic leaders also were agreed that, although anti-Catholic hostility existed, it would not drive Catholics, as one said, "into re-ghettoization." Speaking of group politics generally, one said, "You can have honest differences of opinions on values and they start within the Church..."[78] Like the Jewish leaders, many felt the answer to group hostility lay in politics. "Politics is being part of the structure and in order to operate in it you have to learn to relate to levels of authority, to various peer groups."[79]

THE BLACK LEADERS

Black organizations seem to fall into three categories. Like the Jews, Blacks have a number of old and prestigious organizations, formed decades ago to struggle for and protect rights for their group, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example, and the National Urban League. A second category of organization grew out of or gained prominence during the civil rights struggles of the late 1950s and 1960s, including Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality. Finally, in the late 1960s and 1970s a third kind of organization developed. These are organizations with specialized aims, serving a particular clientele, such as the Black Child Development Institute. These last organizations seem to be a response to the legislative and legal achievements of the 1960s and are aimed at lobbying for policy development in their fields of interest and educating and organizing Blacks nationally to take advantage of such policies. The first two types of organization tend to be nation-wide in scope, to appeal to Blacks in general in membership and to have quite diversified interests and aims. The third has affiliates and clientele groups in many parts of the country, but is organized for more specific purposes. They tend to affiliate with and serve Blacks in specific areas of their lives.

In interviewing leaders of Black organizations, my assistants and I discovered that, despite the emphasis on Black self-consciousness and Black community and organizational control, a number of groups still had racially mixed leadership components, although they were devoted to Black aims and served or organized Black people. In a few instances, we were met by white leaders when we appeared for interviews. (These interviews are not included in this section.)

Rise in ethnic consciousness

When discussing the recent rise in ethnic consciousness in the United States, many Black leaders talked of the continuing impact of and emphasis on Black culture among Blacks generally and in their own organizations. "We have a heritage training group. . . where we are training young people in their heritage and so forth. All this kind of thing is to bring people in to acquaint them with what is Black and beautiful and productive."[80] "Culturally," said another leader, "we've made our contributions and we may not always get the benefit of it fully. . . . You know, I made a statement at our convention this year that Carter wouldn't be where he was if it weren't for George Washington Carver -- the peanut! The whole southland was revitalized by the research Carver did."[81]

Several leaders also mentioned the fact that, although Black pride and Black identity might be as strong as before, it was harder to organize Blacks as a group now than it had been ten years ago. "Today we're operating in a national climate where the mood and the consciousness for a national, politically-oriented organization is not as high as it was. Several years ago, when the civil rights movement still had a national character to it, when certain Black individuals were still regarded as national leaders, when the consciousness of Black nationalism was very high and really at a grousing stage in the Black community, it was easier to garner support."[82]

In their discussion of ethnicity, however, Black leaders tended to give less attention to Black ethnicity, which they seemed to take for granted, and to concentrate on the growth of ethnic identity and ethnic organization among white groups.

Almost universally they regarded the rise in ethnic consciousness and organization among whites as in part artificial and, more important, as a reaction and threat to their own aims and achievements. "When a white person walks down the street there are not immediately identifiable physical characteristics by which someone can say with certainty that he's Italian, Polish, German, so forth and so on. DuBois said it at the turn of the century: The problem of the twentieth century in this country is a problem of color line and it remains so. It's really amazing to see the whites attempting to rationalize and refuse to deal with that problem."[83] A woman leader declared, "The current interest in ethnicity represents a fad that will soon pass. The academic community is using ethnicity as a means of phasing down or phasing out Black Studies programs."[84]

Black leaders agreed with the white Catholics who said that the current rise in ethnic identity and organization had grown from the Black movement, but they saw this in negative rather than in the positive terms with which the Catholics had viewed the development. Blacks saw it as a tactic by which whites were trying, not just to cut themselves in on benefits, but to cut Blacks out. In a typical statement, one leader declared, "In the light of the Black struggle in this country in the 1960s and the gains that were made, there was a countervailing force actually of ethnic awareness, most frequently, I think, as a reaction to the successes of the Black movement, Black gains. . . . In this country the inditifiable white ethnic groups that have been maintained tended to be of the working class, those groups that felt most threatened and alarmed by the successes they saw in the Black movement, and they organized themselves in a similar fashion."[85]

Another said, "There's a new consciousness that came out after the civil rights movement and also a resurgence after the series, 'Roots.' Those two things have contributed to this kind of awareness among other groups than Blacks and minority groups. And now you're hearing quite a bit about the concerns of many others, the Polish, the Italians... Effects? We know that in the early 1970s there were many programs, many funding sources, that were available for Blacks and Black organizations and for students and we know that as of now many of those have been curtailed or eliminated altogether."[86]

When the question of renewed ethnic consciousness and organization was discussed in detail and specific groups mentioned, the Black leaders always mentioned white Catholics. Even in discussion of the affirmative action programs, Jews were never specifically mentioned as one of the white groups opposing Blacks. Black leaders said such things as, "some people," are opposing affirmative action as reverse racism or discussed reverse racism without specifying a particular group as being in opposition. "We see the whole area of 'reverse racism' and the whole challenge of that," said one. "I think an interesting statement was made, though, that before you have the first racism you have to have equality and, since we haven't had the equality, it is very hard to talk about reverse racism."[87] Declared another leader, "The phenomenon of Blacks going to college is basically a 1960s phenomenon. And even now that is under attack in the courts with some whites alleging reverse discrimination for the very existence of programs that were designed to remedy years of past discrimination.[88]

There is no doubt from the interviews that most Black leaders were highly conscious of the general rise in ethnicity in the country, that they saw and feared it as directed against the Black movement. They also tended to see it as a white Catholic, rather than a Jewish (or a Protestant) development. There were few sympathetic references to the development and there was but one mention of collaboration with any organized white ethnic group.

Black organizational activities

Black leaders emphasized many of the activities Jews and white Catholics also discussed in regard to their organizations. Blacks discussed lobbying with both legislators and administration officials, particularly on the national level, educating and organizing their own people politically, undertaking legal suits to gain rights, voter education and voter mobilization. Two factors were of significance in this discussion of Black organizational activities. Leaders tended to cite relatively few instances of court or legal activities, although this had been a major pattern in the past for Black political activity. Legal activities[89] cited were in regard to affirmative action, "red-lining," restrictive suburban zoning and rights for Black radicals. However, more often leaders emphasized narrowly political activities, such as voter registration and mobilization and the importance of electing Black officials. "We are going through a difficult period in the history of our country," said one southern-based leader, "but if we work hard we can change the climate. We have to send Blacks to the halls of Congress. We can change the climate if we elect more mayors who are concerned about the welfare of all the people."[90] "Blacks," said another, "have demonstrated that by group electoral activity, organized activity, they could be effective within the system."[91]

Another major activity which emerged as one toward which Black organizations were expending energy was the implementation of policies already enacted. There was great concern about insuring that Black people generally understand the rights and benefits already accorded them and that Black organizations work with government agencies and other organizations in their implementation. When Black leaders discussed affirmative action, for example, they talked more about ways and means of getting Blacks into colleges or training them for job promotions than they did about court cases testing the affirmative action program. The same attitude showed in regard to many other issues and policies:

"Our organization was formed for the purpose of aiding minority business people to start and expand their own businesses.[92]

"We feel that one of the things we have to do is to educate our people about the operation of the legal system and how rights and remedies can be pursued, to demystify the law for our people. . . . People have to understand how the political and legal systems operate if they are in fact to have an impact on the legal system. If they do not, the legal system will certainly have an impact on them."[93]

"We monitor federal and state legislation. . . . Many programs are set up and we go into a community and say, 'Here's the program for you.' Our concern is that programs be a composite of the needs and aspirations and wants of the community."[94]

This emphasis on activities relating to the implementation of already-enacted policies and to educating Black people generally about them certainly reflects an attempt to consolidate gains made in the 1960s and 1970s. It probably also reflects and in turn is responsible for the growth of new organizations among Blacks specifically for the purpose of program education and implementation in regard to a whole series of particular areas, from housing to the arts to child welfare.

Issues

Black leaders cited a number of specific issues as important to their organizations and to Black people generally: First, problems related to the economic recession, especially jobs and welfare; then, also, housing, education and affirmative action. More important than any specific issue, though, Black leaders seemed to believe, was the whole problem of what they saw as retrenchment and retreat from earlier interest and action on Black problems.

Every Black leader save one talked of this.[95] Among them there was a widespread feeling of anger, disillusionment and even, to an extent, of despair. Both the nation as a whole and the government, they believed, were retreating from earlier efforts to help Blacks.

In both the Jewish and white Catholic interview sessions, there seemed to be a topic which called forth from the leaders almost a feeling of poignancy, a topic on which the emotional content was decidedly different, more charged, than was true in the interview in general. For Jews, affirmative action seemed to bring this out; for white Catholics, the feeling of disparagement with which they felt their values and culture were treated by some of American society. Among Blacks, it was this widespread sense of retreat and retrenchment.

Although more than three years have passed since President Nixon left office, he remained very much in the minds of Black leaders, for they seemed to regard his administration as responsible for the change in national and governmental climate. One man called Nixon the "Rutherford B. Hayes" of the twentieth century.[96] The retrenchment that began under Nixon has continued, leaders believed. "There was at least an attempt," said one, "to try legally to alleviate some of the problems four or five years ago. As I see the picture now, there isn't even an attempt anymore."[97] Another insisted, "If you take a look at all the pieces, it's very easy to see a cycle. We know that in many instances Blacks need some type of assistance to be in school. We also see that most of the areas of assistance for schooling have been cut back or eliminated. We know that, whereas in 1970 there were many scholarships and grants available in med schools and law schools, there are now almost none. We also see the whole challenge of so-called reverse racism. . . . But all those things that are necessary for education have been eliminated; then it doesn't take too much to figure out what's going to happen. So we know that many of the Blacks in education are going to be eliminated."[98] "Since the Nixon years," a third said, "since the growing atmosphere of political repression, frustration among a lot of people, as if to say, 'The cards are stacked so heavily against us that there's not very much we can really do'."[99]

This sense of anger and disillusionment was intense and seemed to affect every aspect of the interviews with Black leaders from their reaction to the development of white ethnicity to their beliefs regarding the possibilities for conflict inherent in ethnic politics.

Values

Black leaders tended to discuss values principally in terms of contributions they believed Blacks had made to America.[100] In addition to specific mentions of Black artistic and cultural contributions, most leaders stressed the Black contribution of challenge to the melting pot syndrome. Blacks, they felt, had been the principal actors in forcing attention to the pluralistic nature of American society. "Originally," explained one, "there was the whole concept of integration and the melting pot and that whole thing and what we're starting to see is that what happened in the melting pot was that cultures, particularly the Black culture, was eliminated. . . . I think people are more concerned now that their heritage, their culture and the strength of that culture are not lost. The swing now is really away from the melting pot and toward mutual coexistence in which each group keeps its own culture and its own strength. . ."[101] This would seem, in a way, to contradict earlier statements regarding the artificiality and political intent of white ethnicity, but there is no doubt that in discussing values Black leaders saw insistence by Blacks on the worth and particularly of their own culture and values as a major contribtuion to a renewed sense of American pluralism. There was little attempt, though, to discuss in detail of what Black culture and values consisted.

Disunities within the ethnic group

Black leaders showed little tendency to discuss or to manifest any real sense of disunity within the Black organizations or among Black people generally. To a small degree, some mainline groups did criticize Black "extremists" and "separatists." Even here leaders went on to say that they shared many of the ideas and aims of those they were criticizing and that these "extremist" or "separatist" leaders had made valuable contributions to Black life and Black goals. The general tendency of the leadership was quite the opposite of any emphasis on discussion of Black disunities. Instead, it was to stress what leaders felt was the continued black/white dichotomy in the country.

"If you're a white ethnic group," explained one, "you don't have the racism problem. You assimilate very well into the rest of the population. You don't have as many problems, once your accent is gone, in getting a job or buying a house anywhere. The problems are just not the same."[102] Said another, "Being Black means that you live in this country with a constituted consciousness. . . and the consciousness of yourself in a white society. You never lose the sense of the prejudice of racism and the color line. It still differentiates most things about your life, both professionally and as a person who rents, is involved with commerce, social affairs, and so forth."[103] A woman leader insisted, "Until we get a political system that really gives people equality we're going to have this continued division over ethnicity."[104] It is obvious that many of the leaders felt that disunities within the group tended to fade in confrontation with the Black/white division, especially during what they believed was a period of Black retrenchment.

Extent of collaboration with other ethnic groups and general American institutions

Black leaders talked of working with many non-Black groups and individuals and with a host of general American institutions. Institutions specifically mentioned were private corporations, government agnecies and churches. There was also specific mention of work with sympathetic white legislators. ". . . Brademas, and Mondale when he was on Capital Hill. We were able to interact with them and share some of the things we saw."[105]

In general, however, inter-action with other minority groups was more often mentioned than was positive inter-action with whites and white organizations. "We're getting more requests for multi-cultural materials, from Hispanics primarily," said one leader.[106] "We work with white, progressive legal organizations," said another. "We deal, of course with minority legal organizations, such as the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund, the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, the Asian-American Legal Defense Fund and there is a Native American Fund, too."[107]

There was also often a tendency to be somewhat critical of the white groups with which Black leaders did ally. After discussing mutual cultural activities, a Black leader added, "A lot of white writers and scholars have been making their names on Black history. They become more expert on us than we are on ourselves."[108] The head of a Black lawyers organization, after discussing collaboration with "white allies in the legal profession," said, "We have to constantly remind them, by the way, that race still plays a critical factor in the way in which the institutions of the law operate. They don/t always see this. They're often caught up in their own political trials. . . . Because of the interest among the white left in matters such as the Socialist Workers Party trial, which are certainly worthy of attention, there's also a tendency to forget the Black political activist and to not give the Black political activists the same sort of support or access to the same resources for their defense."[109] No criticisms were voiced of other minority groups nor any suggestion made of possible tension between Blacks and these groups.[110]

Strictures

Black leaders did feel strongly that they operated under a set of strictures imposed by American society on their political activities and goals. Some said specifically that the strictures were greater for them than for white ethnic groups. The difficulties and restriction under which they operated, they felt, were the direct result of racism. None thought that racism had become less over the past few years, only, said some, "It's covert now, rather than overt.

"I think the problems of 1977 are probably as great as the problems of 1965," insisted one leader. "In 1965 things were open and you know what it was that you had to deal with. In 1977 they're much more subtle and therefore it's harder to see."[111] A woman remarked, "Everybody wanted to say that all the problems happened in the South and wanted the South to carry the burden for all of this. And I think that Boston brought out that, if anything, the North is as bad or worse. But that you're dealing with all the subtle nuances in the North."[112]

Racism was regarded by several leaders as inhibiting Black political action and Black goals because it had been institutionalized, making it particularly difficult for Blacks to pinpoint and fight. "What we're seeing increasing is that American institutions are now playing the same role that individual kinds of racial prejudices used to play," explained one leader. "For example, not that many years ago a guy in real estate who didn't like Blacks would kind of make a conscious effort to discriminate amongst his clientele to show only certain houses and certain apartments to Blacks, to withhold opportunities from them. . . . Now, of course, the real estate broker doesn't have to worry about that, whatever his prejudices are, because the banks take care of that for him through the process of red-lining. So whole areas are foreclosed from Blacks and no longer can you point the finger at the individual who might be designated as a racist or the bad guy. The institution takes care of that function for him."[113]

In a similar statement another said, "The process has become institutionalized now. For example, in the banks. Someone sat down within the banks and, in the process of deciding how loan mortgages would be allocated, they carefully eliminated Black neighborhoods from potential development monies. A conscious decision was made and yet you will never find anyone within those institutions who will take full responsibility for that. Even if Blacks were to sue to try to get state banking regulations changed, for example, to prohibit this, they're not suing an individual, they're suing a corporation or a whole series of corporations, many, many corporations, you get into Chase and City Bank and Morgan Guarantee Trust -- we're talking about multi-national corporations. It's a completely new dimension we're operating in now. We're at a point now where I think when we talk seriously about multi-ethnic and multi-racial developments in housing and education, then we're talking about fundamental changes in the character of institutions."[114]

No Black leader felt that hostility toward Blacks had lessened in the past decade or that this did not inhibit their activities. At their most optimistic, they thought hostility "has probably remained about the same. There's no question that discriminatory practices, prejudicial attitudes, still prevail."[115]

Possibilities for ethnic conflict

There is no doubt that Black leaders saw the development of a more ethnically-oriented politics as having potential for greater group conflict. This seems evident from the fact that they regarded the increased self-identification and organization of white ethnic groups as an action specifically directed against them. White ethnic organization had arisen, they believed. out of whites' feelings of being threatened by Black political success and their desire to thwart Black gains and win benefits for themselves.

The potential for a more conflict-ridden politics also seemed inherent in the fact that Black leaders seemed often to view politics from a bi-racial rather than a multi-ethnic point of view. That is, they seemed to see ethnic or group politics essentially as a Black/white confrontation rather than as an arena in which a whole range of groups of various religions, races and nationalities inter-acted, sometimes in opposition, sometimes in coalition. To an extent, they did recognize a greater diversity by their references to other minority groups, Hispanics, Asians and Indians, but here, too, they usually seemed to incorporate these groups with their own into a kind of non-white/white dichotomy. They did not seem to view the other minorities as a series of groups with values and goals of their own, sometimes different from Black goals, which might ally with, or oppose, Blacks on certain issues in a constantly changing political situation.

Some factors emerged from the Black leadership interviews, however, which seemed to mitigate this view of ethnic politics as potentially one of strong group conflict. Almost all of the groups concerned did on some occasions, on some issues, ally with white groups (as well as with other minority groups). Most also worked a great deal with general American institutions, especially Congress and federal agencies. These factors would seem to lead both to increased communication and, perhaps, understanding across racial barriers and to the integration of Black organizations into the political and social systems of the country. White ethnic groups had believed these would be the positive aspects of a strengthened ethnic politics. Also, no major Black organization leaders, including now those with the Nation of Islam, thought the answer to Black problems lay in extreme radicalism or in separation. They stressed, instead, increased conventional political participation.

The potential for increased group and ethnic conflict, coming in part from a development of a more ethnically-oriented politics, can be seen more clearly from Black leadership, however, than from Jewish or white Catholic leadership. Whether that potential is realized may be decided by the extent to which the current sense of defeat and disillusionment, felt so strongly by Black leaders, continues to grow.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

Mexican-American organizations seem now to be in a period of great strain, change and growth. We had more trouble simply in contacting these organizations than we did with any of the others.

We discovered a number had disappeared, amalgamated or changed names and, to some extent, goals. There seemed to be considerable turnover in leadership, addresses and locations seemed to change rather rapidly. To contact Mexican-American leaders and organizations, we thus had to rely on knowledgeable informants within the group to a greater extent than with the other groups; information we had gathered through books, articles and newspapers was too often out-dated.

This seems to have occurred, in part, because Mexican-Americans as a group are now going through a process of increased organization and political participation. The numbers of Mexican-American organizations and their diversification seem to be growing. Certainly Mexican-American leaders insisted on this, even though they also spoke of the problems involved with apathy and the difficulties of organizing.

Rise in ethnic consciousness

Like the Jews, Mexican-American leaders insisted that ethnic consciousness and identity was no recent phenomenon among their people. "Mexican-American pride was always there but it was suppressed until eight or ten years ago."[116] "Mexican-American consciousness has been happening for much longer than the recent accounts by white ethnics indicate. We've always had to deal with ethnicity and the reason we've had to deal with it is because we're one of the four or five ethnic groups that have not assimilated, because we also happen to be a minority color. And I think those of minority color have always been concerned about their cultural identification."[117]

While leaders agreed that Mexican-Americans have always had a strong sense of group identity and consciousness, they believed that two changes related to this have occurred over the last decade: Americans in general have become more aware of the group, in part because of the increased publicity given Mexican-Americans by scholars and journalists; and Mexican-Americans have become more organized along ethnic lines and more vocal in pursuit of ethnic goals.

The attention being paid to Mexican-Americans was mentioned by nearly every leader. "We Mexican-Americans," said one, "have in recent years been 'discovered' by the academic and political communities. In fact, it is harder to keep from being proclaimed a national spokesman than it is just to do your job." "Scholars of the new ethnicity have been writing about Chicano consciousness," agreed another. Before it was the white, Anglo, social scientists writing about us. But now we have Mexican-American sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, social workers and others writing about our own experiences."[119]

In the last decade, leaders also insisted, Mexican-Americans began asserting themselves more openly as a group and making group demands. They attributed this to two principal causes: The development of a Mexican-American educated elite and the general unrest in the country in the 1960s, limiting some of the earlier repression and giving organizational and political impetus to what many felt had begun as a cultural interest and cultural demands.

The role played by the rise of new, educated classes of Mexican-Americans, especially the young, was strongly stressed. "In the early 1960s there was a movement across the country. . . in which the culture of the people was a very, very strong factor. The people had been very quiet in years past and had been afraid sometimes and now the youth, especially the college youth, began demanding that they be recognized, that their culture receive recognition in the curriculum. Chicano studies, classes, were developed and began to spread and to affect the school system, which before had not taken into consideration the problems that were just problems of our people."[120]

The role that the civil rights and anti-poverty struggles of the 1960s played in giving new and renewed organizational form to cultural demands was also asserted, even among those Mexican-American leaders who emphasized that organizations had existed for decades among their people, citing LULAC and the G.I. Forum and other groups.[121] "The new kind of organization we've developed," explained a California leader, "is part of the movement that was felt throughout the country in the early 1960s. . . . In those days if you yelled loud enough and if you demonstrated, if you became militant, the structure would react to that. There were responses, band-aid approaches to problems, but they responded. You could demonstrate to the Board of Education, march, take control of meetings. But after awhile, this began to lose its effectiveness and what has happened is that people began to fact the reality that you have to deal effectively with the power structure, which is not always going to respond to militant demands but is going to respond to blocs, to votes and organization. So we've reached that kind of point and we're acutely aware of that kind of approach."[122]

Although Mexican-American leaders did point to the "unrest of the sixties," as a motive force in renewed Mexican-American consciousness and organization, none of them specifically linked Mexican-American resurgence to the development of the Black pride and power movements as did white Catholics or, to some extent, Jews. Blacks were never specifically mentioned as an example or an influence. There were merely rather vague mentions of "civil rights" and "unrest." This seems part of a tendency evident among many Mexican-American leaders to play down connection with Black leaders and the Black movement generally.

A few Mexican-Americans did discuss the development of white ethnic consciousness and organization, generally in rather vague and somewhat sympathetic terms. There seemed to be little conviction that this was a very strong movement and little feeling that it was directed against them, as was strongly asserted among Blacks.[123]

Mexican-American organizational activities

Mexican-American leaders described their organizations as involved with a whole range of cultural, political and economic activities. "First there was a cultural consciousness and emphasis and then, in stages, a political education spinoff and now to an extent also an economic one."[124] Several discussed ethnic heritage training for Mexican-Americans and sensitivity training for social service, education and government agency personnel working with Mexican-Americans. A number had been or were actively involved in pursuing court cases to force bi-lingual education and to have city-wide and district-wide elections declared discriminatory because they precluded election of minority candidates. Several were involved in trying to aid minority business and trade union development.

Greatest emphasis by far, however, was placed on two activities which most leaders seem to see as keys to problem-solution for Mexican-Americans. First, they believed it was necessary simply to increase and strengthen organization in general among Mexican Americans. Second, they emphasized the importance of and often their organizations' involvement with voter registration, education and mobilization.

Organization was seen as important in a community many felt was still too apathetic because involvement itself in organizing and in organizational structures and activities was considered politically educational. People in this way would come to understand their problems, strengths, the ways in which power works and can be manipulated. "Organizing is an educational process," insisted one leader. "You learn about life. It's the same with education everywhere. When you learn by doing, you learn faster than by other methods. Once you have people who see what has happened, they become your best organizers."[125]

Organization was important also, leaders felt, because Mexican-Americans had to demonstrate their group strength if they were to get results from the government. "We think government knows what the problems are. Our role is to make sure there's enough expertise here, enough results here, and enough strength being built up so that we can get the services desperately needed and the assistance that is needed to improve this community in the way we think it should be improved. . . . We're trying to find as many people as we can to work on these problems together."[126] Concomitantly with this, leaders stressed their work with voter education and organization.

A number mentioned the recent extension of the Voting Rights Act, safeguarding Mexican-American voting rights as Black rights had earlier been safeguarded. They were involved in monitoring compliance to the Act and in trying to educate Mexican-Americans regarding it and regarding their potential power as a large ethnic bloc. "We hve to begin to develop political power that will put us in positions allowing us to make decisions. Right now, the decisions aren't being made by us. They are being made for us and usually by people who don't understand us."[127]

Issues

A great many issues were mentioned as important, especially education and economic development, which were often linked. "Education is paramount -- bi-lingual and bi-cultural education," said one leader in a typical statement. "By making a child feel comfortable with his heritage, he can feel good about himself. This, in turn, will enhance his chances for success."[128] "Studies indicate that the adult Mexican-American population over 25 has a mean achievement level of eighth grade," reported another. "This lack of education will create all kinds of other problems. It kind of locks us into poverty. It certainly limits the opportunities one might have in the marketplace."[129] Another summed up, "Education is a major issue and out of that emanates a whole host of issues that deal with employment, poverty, illness, health problems and so forth."[130]

Even more basic than education, however, was the issue of the vote. Many Mexican-American leaders seemed to believe that other issues would not be resolved until they brought the weight of the Mexican-American vote to bear on the political system. There seemed to be a widespread belief that they could do this successfully and that it would force government and politicians to respond to their organizations and their group. Every leader with whom we talked emphasized the size of the Mexican-American group and the importance of demonstrating this in elections:

"The Mexican-American is, after all, in a position to gain considerable power in local areas where he constitutes an effective majority."[131]

"The United States must realize that there is an almost limitless supply of Chicanos and those voices must be heeded."[132]

"It's now estimated that by the year 2000 the Hispanics of this country will be the largest minority group, much larger than the Black. By Hispanics, I'm including Cubans, Puerto Ricans, South Americans, etc."[133]

They believed that if this large Mexican-American group could be mobilized politically, it would force attention to other issues important to the broup. "To make a real change in the community in education, any area of concern," said one, "you have to be able to deal effectively with the power structure, the people who control our community, the elected officials, and because we don't form a strong enough bloc of votes -- and we have enough people here to do that -- politicians aren't going to give us the attention that we need."[134]

"In California," another asserted, "the Chicano vote is the questionalbe vote now in elections. They know pretty much which way the Anglo vote is going to go generally and the Black vote. The Chicano vote, they don't know for sure sometimes. If we're in the situation where this vote means something to politicians, where it makes a difference in their election, then we're going to see changes. I'm not saying long-rmage changes, but they'd be the beginning of long-range changes."[135]

The attention being paid to voter registration and mobilization as the most important issue facing their organizations, the key to resolving other issues, was impressive. Almost all Mexican-American leaders mentioned this spontaneously, early in the interviews. They seemed to have made rather careful studies of Chicano strength in their own areas and generally to be buoyed up by the Voting Rights Act and recent electoral victories by Mexican-Americans. "We hve a growing number of representatives in the state legislatures. We;ve had some appointments by the Carter Administration to federal positions. The charter president of this Organization was appointed. So we're developing political power."[136] "Politics," said another leader succinctly, "will be the key to Chicano success."[137] No other single theme was so alluded to in the Mexican-American leadership interview as was the theme of growing Mexican-American political strength and the need to develop it further.

Values

Mexican-Americans tended to emphasize values identical to those discussed by the white Catholics of European descent. Family and a sense of community. "Values?" queried a Californian. "The values that they hold on to in my experience is, first, the relationship that exists in the family, the treatment of the elderly, for example, and the strong feeling of community."[138]

Several leaders then went on, however, to mention other values they thought important to the culture, especially cultural conservatism. "Politically, many Mexican-Americans still regard Franklin Roosevelt as a god and John Kennedy as a demi-god. They're still really New Dealers."[139] In several cases, too, they went on to discuss the ways in which they felt their mixed cultural heritage had affected the group's value structure.

"Questions about values," said one leader, "are very difficult to discuss because by definition we're bi-cultural. We have incorporated some of the values of the American culture . . . numerous studies have indicated that we, like the general population, place a great deal of value on education, the work ethic and so forth. Yet because we are bi-cultural, we also retain some of the cultural values of the Mexican side of our bi-culturalism."[140] "Many of our values," said another, "have been defined by two phenomena, the Catholic Church and the tie to the land. The values that evolved as a result of an agrarian-Catholic experience are still very much a part of the Mexican culture and carry over to us as Mexican-Americans. So that you take a look at the Chicano family and find a reflection of the values as espoused by the Catholic Church. . . . And one Mexican scholar has described the Mexican philosophy as containing a tragic sense of life and that's tied in pretty closely to having to live with the environment and having a pretty realistic sense of what's possible and what's not possible."[141]

There was some, very limited, concern expressed about the possibility of the disappearance of Mexican-American values and culture as people from the group moved into the mainstream of American society. A few Mexican-American leaders described programs designed to teach people about their culture and to maintain aspects of the culture. "We are involved, as one of our contributions to the community, in a cultural, artistic program. Twice a month we present a cultural program for the people here and the idea is to maintain, keep in touch with the culture and what it has to offer."[142] A few worried outrightly about the problem of possible assimilation. "Individuals become better educated and move up the socio-economic ladder and then leave the *barrio* and live wherever they want. I think this is to a large extent what is happening and that, to some extent, by leaving the *barrio* they're leaving a close contact with the Mexican side of their bi-culturalism. Some of the children are growing up not knowing Spanish and once you lose Spanish you lose a lot of the culture because there are certain symbolisms within the language that are not found within the English language."[143]

Most leaders, however, including these men, believed that a distinct Mexican-American population, with a distinct culture and value system, would continue for the foreseeable future. They believed this because of the commitment to the culture and value system they felt was still strong within both the people and most of their leadership; because racism would continue to "prevent assimilation to the extent that some white groups have become assimilated," and because "just as one family will leave the *barrio*, three or four Mexicans come into the country and move into the barrio," so that there is a constant renewal of the group and its culture.

Disunities within the ethnic group

There were some evidences of disunity within the Mexican-American group, although no leader greatly stressed these or spoke of any segment of the group with real hostility. A few criticized what they called the "assimilationists" in the Mexican-American group. "Some of them don't think there are any particular Chicano values or Chicano goals."[144] To an extent, too, Jose Angel Gutierrez and his La Raza Unida movement were criticized.[145] The criticism was always low-key. "Take La Raza Unida. Here maybe one figure will excite people, or an issue up in an election will excite them, but then they're gone, you know. It's just totally different, say, from Chavez/ movement where there's real dedication."[146]

Disunity was more evident, though, in other ways. The first was the extent to which Mexican-American leaders alluded to apathy within their group, the difficulties of organizing, the numbers of people who, for one reason or another, stayed out of organizations. "We have different groups which have been involved in this area and throughout the state," said one. "M.A.P.A., for example, becomes active during elections and we have other groups that do the same thing. If there's an issue, they do things; people will try to do things. But it's just difficult to organize the people. They're apathetic in a lot of regards."[147] Another remarked, "There is pride, but no real community."[148]

Others spoke of the fact that, although they believed there had been substantial organizational growth and development in the past few years, it was difficult to get various Mexican-American groups to form coalitions so that their strength could be enhanced. "A certain issue arises," explains one man, "and there will be some organizations that have a common interest in that issue and then you'll find them working together on it. Manpower training is a concern and all of the agencies that deal with manpower . . . will work together. Other than that, all by itself, there isn't much of a vehicle that exists to pull the Mexican-American agencies together. There was an attempt to do this back in the late 1960s when we set up a Congress of Mecican-American Unity where we brought all of these many organizations in this area into membership. . . . It was fairly effective in some regards but there's never been an attempt to get them together again. There have been very few attempts to create organizations bringing everyone together."[149] "In this area," said another "the key word for so many years has been organize, organize, organize. By that I mean that there have been agencies and groups here but no one has effectively organized the community. Organizations have been here, some organizations, a long time, others are new, others are mistrusted. I mean, those are absolute kinds of problems we have had."[150]

Despite these evidence of disunity based on differing philosophies, apathy and lack of umbrella organizations, the general mood of nearly all of the Mexican-American leaders was optimistic. They seemed to believe that, although these problems persisted, organizational work wss going on among Mexican-Americans in a new way and at a better rate than before and that there was more of a feeling among Mexican-Americans now than earlier that change, based on their own activity, was possible. In fact, the optimistic feeling among most Mexican-American leaders was completely different from the feeling of retreat and disillusionment we found among Black leaders, the other minority leadership interviewed.

Extent of collaboration with other ethnic groups and general American institutions

Mexican-American leaders did accent to a continuing racism which they saw in American life but, at the same time most tended to insist upon their organizations' ties with many other groups and institutions in America. Although Black leaders tended to stress coalition with other minority groups, including the Mexican-Americans, only two of the Mexican-American leaders discussed joint efforts with Black groups. Another explained, "Blacks and Mexican-Americans rarely, if ever, cooperate. They often fight for the same resources."[151] Otherwise, when specific groups were mentioned, the reference was to white groups or groups which might have mixed memberships but were largely organized and led by whites (labor unions, for example).

Most often described were joint activities with church groups, labor unions, universities and schools, business groups and local and national governmental agencies: "Who have we worked with? The unions, the churches, the student groups."[152] "We work with United Way here and with the Commission on Alcoholism and the National Institute of Mental Health."[153] "Walter Reuther and the U.A.W. helped set up our organization."

Strictures

Mexican-American leaders believed that their group and their organizations operate under some strictures because of the continuing effect of racism directed against them. "This country," said one, "is a racist society and as long as there are groups that can be regarded as racially inferior they will be regarded as racially inferior and they will be treated as such. The racism is not as blatant or as overt as in previous years in respect to us, but it's still there and it's reflected in sins of omission more than sins of commission nowadays."[155] A Texas leader shrugged, "Reaction to us ranges from apathy to hostility in the rural counties."[156]

Despite remarks of this type, however, most Mexican-American leaders did not seem to believe that the racist nature of American society was so overwhelming, at least as applied to them, as to seriously restrict their political participation and organization. Quite the contrary. There was a feeling of real excitement in these men and women, a kind of hope and eagerness about their political activities Mexican-American leaders seemed to feel that, although there were still many problems, they were on their way. They were forthrightly embracing political organization and participation and they were cautiously confident of achieving some success. "It means a lot," explained one man, "when you come from an organization that is very effective, is working in the area. . . . So, when we talk to politicians, we're not just any other group, any local group. We have some votes and we own land along with community people. We sold shares of stock to the community. That means something. So we can talk effectively to politicians. We don't always get what we want. If we had a real, organized vote behind us to talk to them, I think it'd make a total difference."[157] "We're developing political power and organization," said another. "It's been a slow process but we're working on it."[158]

Belief in the potential in their bloc votes seems to be the key to the Mexican-Americans' feelings of optimism. They emphasized again and again their numbers and their organizational development from cultural to political and now also to economic interest and goals. They seemed to believe that their people were beginning, at least, to be organized and mobilized and that political leaders could not ignore such a large ethnic block. "You need to know two things about politics: How to obtain power or influence and where the real power is."[159]

Possibilities for ethnic conflict

Most Mexican-American leaders tended to downplay the possibility of serious ethnic conflict emerging from the development of ethnic consciousness and ethnic politics. Their emphasis was quite different. They seemed to see the renewal of attention paid ethnicity and the development of ethnic politics as their group's chance to get into the political system. This was demonstrated in part through their repeated emphasis on the importance of block voting and the advantage that could accrue to Mexican-Americans through the fact that they were such a large and ethnically distinct group.

They also saw ethnic politics as a positive development because they felt politics and the election of group representatives gave the various groups in America an opportunity to know one another and to learn of one another's problems. Speaking of recent increases in the numbers of Mexican-Americans elected to political office, one leader said, "It makes a difference in the sense that it makes it possible for people [illegible] begin to know the [illegible] [illegible]. People in Boston, for example, don't know Mexican-Americans and their representatives don't know of their plight. But then someone like Ed Roybal gets to Congress and people begin to know about them."[160]

Like the Jews and, to an extent, white Catholics of European descent, Mexican-American leaders also emphasized the effects of the political process and involvement in that a large number of the Mexican-American leaders moved beyond talk of Mexican-American political participation and voting blocs to specific discussion of the necessity for forming electoral coalition and broadening their power basis. "I think that ethnic solidarity and identification take you only so far in the political arena," said one. "Once you start looking at state or national office, you've got to have more than just your reference group to vote for you. You've got to appeal to a larger number of people and by doing that you're concerned with more universal, more general kinds of political issues, not just those that relate to your own reference group."[161] Another insisted, "The key to the future is the development of leaders. We proved that we can lead our people. Now we have to prove that we can be leaders for all people."[162]

Conclusions

Ethnic politics is a concept with which we will have to deal for the foreseeable future. Certainly, the leadership of our four major ethnic groups believed that ethnic consciousness and organization had intensified in the past decade and cited ways in which this had changed their groups' and their organizations' approach to politics. Two of the factors mentioned by leadership as important in developing a more ethnically-oriented politics would seem to have continuing effect. These were the fact that government seems to apportion financial and other benefits on an ethnic basis, calling forth intensified ethnic organization and response, even competition, and, probably, the rise of a new kind of professional, educated, self-confident elite, mentioned by white Catholics, Jews and Mexican-Americans as important and obvious among Blacks, replacing the older, more reticent, volunteer-oriented leaderships.

The development of a more ethnically-oriented politics seems to have had effects both on the groups themselves and on our political system as a whole. Certainly the kinds of activities groups undertake would seem to have been affected. Among the white ethnic groups, the Jews and white Catholics, where voting rights were secured long ago and much of their populations already accustomed to voting and its benefits, the emphasis was on lobbying as a political activity. Both groups had well-developed ties with specific legislators and had representatives in Washington to cue them on legislation and possible funding. Both agreed that much recent lobbying had been on group-specific isuuss rather than general interest issues. Among non-white groups, Blacks and Mexican-Americans, the emphasis was on vote mobilization. The Blacks saw the mobilization of their ethnic bloc as a way possibly to prevent increased retrenchment of Black gains; the Mexican-Americans, as a key to power and influence.

The issues that emerged from the interviews as important to each group indicated that issues can at times increase inter-group conflict. Certainly, affirmative action and the division of beneifts among groups had somewhat the effect of pitting groups against one another. A number of issues which were important to different broups, however, seemed not to cut across group interests and unlikely to have that effect. Support for Israel, for example, and voting gains by Mexican-Americans seem to be realizable without arousing the same kind of inter-group conflict.

Ethnically-based politics and the importance, therefore, of maintaining strong ethnic blocks also seem to have the effect of causing leadership, at least, to downplay group disunities. Disunities probably emerged most strongly among white Catholics of European descent and Mexican-Americans, but leaders of all the groups seemed to take pains to underplay even the disunity that was there. Sharp criticisms of other organizations and leaders within their midst generally were muted.

A certain level of danger and conflict inherent in ethnic politics was acknowledged by the leadership of all the groups. Several factors emerged to suggest the possibility of danger and conflict, especially the extent to which government decisions on rights and benefits, based on ethnicity, can generate competition, and the sense of anger and, even, alienation generated by restrictions felt on their groups' cultural and political activity and expression especially by Blacks and white Catholics. However, perhaps the most interesting result to emerge was the strong conviction which many leaders expressed that the political process itself, with the inter-relationship and compromise involvement in the process evokes, was the force which would ultimately mitigate conflicts among American ethnic groups.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, "Introduction," in Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, ed. by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 1-2.

2. Perry Weed, The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1973), Chapter 1.

3. Glazer and Moynihan, "Introduction," p. 7.

4. There have, of course, been a number of books describing and analyzing the political organizations and activities of various ethnic groups. See, for example, Stephen Isaacs, Jews and American Politics, or Hanes Walton, Jr., Black Politics. F. Chris Garcia and Rudolph do la Garza in their book, The Chicano Political Experience, analyze the Chicano political experience through the use of three models of power and influence, the elitist, the pluralist and the internal colonialist. My point is that thus far there has been no attempt to evaluate the Glazer and Moynihan suggestion that ethnic groups flourish now because they are useful as political interest groups by applying what might be called classical interest group theory to an analysis of the organization and functioning of ethnic groups.

5. David Truman, The Governmental Process (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 506-507.

6. Terminology is a constant problem in ethnic studies and research. The group designation used here perhaps require explanation. "White Catholic of European Descent" designated those Catholics who are racially white and are immigrants or descendents of immigrants from Europe, that is, mainly Catholic Irish-, Italian-, Slavic-, German- and French-Americans. They make up the bulk of the American Catholic Church, nearly 90%. These Catholics also fill the ranks of the church hierarchy and form most of the Catholic representation in Congress. When most people talk and most scholars write about American Catholics, their image is that of the white Catholic of European descent, the Irigh-, the Italian-, the Slavic-American. It could be argued that the designation, white Catholic of European descent, would logically also include many Mexican-Americans who are racially white and trace descendence from Spanish conquerors and colonizers. In this study, however, I treat Mexican-Americans as a separate group. They have a distinctive culture which they have maintained in the United States over centures. They are, to a great degree, a racially mixed people; they have been treated as a non-white minority group subjected to political and economic discrimination. Although a number of the Mexican-Americans interviewed used the term "Chicano" to designate their group and hat term is used here in quotations from them, I use the more generic term, "Mexican-American," to designate the group as a whole because the term "Chicano" has political overtones, implying ethnic assertion and system challenge, applicable to some but not all of the groups and leaders discussed.

7. "Elite interviews is used here in the sense in which Lewis Dexter uses it, to describe the open-ended, fairly free technique involved in interviewing "elites," people with particular knowledge and expertise in a specific area.

8. Truman, Governmental Process, op. cit.

9. There are a few national organizations among Mexican-Americans in the sense of organizations with chapters and affiliates across the country and a central headquarters with liaison, directional and/or informational responsibilities. See, for example, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Most Mexican-American organizations, however, are regionally based, mainly in the Southwest and California. A number of these have had national impact in the sense that they have served as catalysts for political movement generally among Mexican-Americans, have impacted national politics in some way or have been accepted at least in some degree as "spokesmen" for the Mexican-Americans. La Raza Unida is an example, although many Mexican-American leaders disclaim it. A third party movement, located mainly in Texas, has had the effect of stirring national attention through its insistence on Mexican-American voting strength and its demonstration of that through winning political power in parts of the state. Mexican-American regional organizations with national impact of this type have been included in this study and for its purposes are regarded as "national" and not "local" organizations. A local organization would be an affiliate of a national organization or a purely local group, organized by the people of a particular area or city, with goals and impact related to that area. Such organizations are not included here.

10. Before interviews were conducted, however, we did of course extensive reading and research on the four groups and their organizational and political activities.

11. Jewish Leadership Interview No. 21.

12. JLI No. 19. The reference to the Arab boycott is to legislation before Congress in the Spring of 1977 designed to alleviate the religious and racial discrimination growing out of Arab attempts to prevent American corporations from doing business with Israel.

13. JLI No. 1.

14. JLI No. 7.

15. JLI No. 1

16. JLI No. 19.

17. JLI No. 15.

18. JLI No. 7.

19. JLI No. 20.

20. JLI No. 21.

21. JLI No. 20.

22. JLI No. 8.

23. JLI No. 5.

24. JLI No. 8.

25. JLI No. 6.

26. JLI No. 7.

27. JLI No. 19.

28. JLI No. 11

29. JLI No. 5.

30. JLI No. 7.

31. JLI No. 19.

32. JLI No. 19.

33. JLI No. 3.

34. JLI No. 7.

35. JLI No. 21.

36. JLI No. 11

37. JLI No. 11.

38. JLI No. 21.

39. JLI No. 11.

40. The white Catholic ethnic movement refers to a loose coalition of community-based, largely working class, Catholic organizations which have developed in the last decade largely in the Northeast and North Central United States. Its generalized aims are the legitimizaiton of cultural pluralism, especially as this regards Catholics and the attainment of economic and political benefits both from the national government and in the form of "community control" in their own neighborhoods. Two national organizations give it focus -- the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs and EMPAC, Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee -- although both work with groups other than Catholic also. Andrew Greeley and Michael Novak are probably the movement's acknowledged spokesmen.

41. Although I defined the term "ethnic" broadly, to refer to self-identity based on race, religious, culture, etc., Catholics commonly use "ethnic" in regard to their own group to mean those Catholics who mainly identify with and organize around national origin rather than religious terms. Thus, in this section a Catholic "ethnic" leader is a leader involved in the new white ethnic movement, rather than a religious leader, heading an organization directly or indirectly involved with the Catholic Church.

42. The Ecumenical Council, Vatican II, refers of course to the Catholic Church Council of Bishops called by Pope John XXIII in 1962 which stressed ecumenism and participation in worldly affairs and voted many Church reforms, including use of national languages rather than Latin in the liturgy.

43. White Catholic Leadership Interview No. 14.

44. WCLI No. 10.

45. WCLI No. 4.

46. WCLI No. 6.

47. WCLI No. 12.

48. WCLI No. 6.

49. The Sisters Network is a liberal nuns organization which educates nuns politically and runs training sessions for them in lobbying and other political action techniques. The Jesuit Office for the Social Ministry is an organization devoted to education the public and public officials on social justice issues. Catholics Concerned for the Urban Ministry is a group of lay and clerical Catholics who exchange ideas and programs to promote more effective Church work in urban ghetto areas. Baroni's organization is the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, headed by Monsignor Geno Baroni. It works to help especially the white urban working class to form community action organizations and to forge liaisons between these and similar Black and Hispanic organizations.

50. WCLI No. 20.

51. WCLI No. 14.

52. WCLI No. 20. A few Jewish leaders spoke of the recent impact on their organization by the advent of young, college-educated, professional leaders in place of the old-time volunteers who used to man them. As we shall see, Mexican-American leaders insist that the emergence of their own professional elite helped energize and politicize organization among them, too.

53. WCLI No. 5.

54. WCLI No. 20.

55. WCLI No. 11.

56. WCLI No. 1.

57. WCLI No. 1.

58. WCLI No. 21.

59. WCLI No. 21.

60. WCLI No. 1.

61. WCLI No. 2.

62. WCLI No. 1.

63. WCLI No. 6.

64. The most prominent is probably Monsignor Geno Baroni, president of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs. Reverend Silvano Tomasi, director of the Center for Migration Studies in New York, is another.

65. WCLI No. 23.

66. WCLI No. 17.

67. Thomas Fleming makes this same point in his article, "Divided Shepherds of a Restive Flock," New York Times Magazine, January 16, 1977, pp. 39, 42.

68. WCLI No. 3.

69. WCLI No. 2.

70. WCLI No. 4.

71. WCLI No. 1.

72. WCLI No. 21.

73. WCLI No 9.

74. WCLI No. 20.

75. WCLI No. 4.

76. WCLI No. 8.

77. WCLI No. 6.

78. WCLI No. 15.

79. WCLI No. 16.

80. Black Leadership Interview No. 6.

81. BLI No. 7.

82. BLI No. 11.

83. BLI No. 11.

84. BLI No. 1.

85. BLI No. 8.

86. BLI No. 14.

87. BLI No. 14.

88. BLI No. 3.

89. "Red-lining" is a term used to indicate the practice of insurance companies and banks of "red-lining" or designating certain sections of cities as poor risks for mortgages and home improvement loans and insurance coverage. This is an important issue nationally not just for Black leaders but also for urban Hispanic and white working class organizations.

90. BLI No. 5.

91. BLI No. 8.

92. BLI No. 8.

93. BLI No. 11.

94. BLI No. 14.

95. A leader connected with the Nation of Islam, followers of Wallace Muhammad, did not seem to feel this sense of retreat and retrenchment. This seemed to be in part because he was engrossed in the internal changes going on in his own organization, opening up membership to whites, for example, and in part because their members have only recently begun to take part in conventional politics.

96. BLI No. 5.

97. BLI No. 14.

98. BLI No. 4.

99. BLI No. 11.

100. The Nation of Islam leader (Black Muslims) talked in concrete terms about values, listing specifics, and these he generally described as religious rather than racial. Since the interviews were held not long after Wallace Muhammad had instituted an inter-racial approach to Moslemism, there was an attempt here to insist strongly that the values were not racial, inherent to Blacks, but inherent in Moslemism itself, The values most often mentioned were a sense of community and discipline.

101. BLI No. 7.

102. BLI No. 16.

103. BLI No. 11.

104. BLI No. 14.

105. BLI No. 14.

106. BLI No. 12.

107. BLI No. 11.

108. BLI No. 6.

109. BLI. No. 11.

110. Two of the white leaders working with Black groups did mention differences in values and goals which they saw in their organizations between Black and other minority group members.

111. BLI No. 4.

112. BLI No. 14.

113. BLI No. 11.

114. BLI No. 7.

115. BLI No. 8.

116. Mexican-American Leadership Interview No. 6.

117. MALI No. 8.

118. MALI No. 10.

119. MALI No. 6.

120. MALI No. 9.

121. LULAC, the League of United Latin American Citizens, was founded in 1929 to conduct educational, economic and social assistance programs and to protest discrimination against Mexican-Americans. The G.I. Forum began as a protest over refusal of city officials in Texas to permit burial of a Mexican-American G.I. killed in the Philippines in World War II. It has continued to protest discrimination and to struggle for political rights and political mobilization.

122. MALI No. 9.

123. MALI No. 8. The difference in reaction to white ethnicity by Blacks and Mexican-Americans may be partially conditioned by the fact that Mexican-American and white ethnic organizations are concentrated largely in different parts of the country and wouldn't often inter-act with one another.

124. MALI No. 4.

125. MALI No. 11.

126. MALI No. 9.

127. MALI No. 8.

128. MALI No. 1.

129. MALI No. 8.

130. MALI No. 7.

131. MALI No. 10.

132. MALI No. 6.

133. MALI No. 9.

134. MALI No. 1.

135. MALI No. 9.

136. MALI No. 8.

137. MALI No. 4.

138. MALI No. 9.

139. MALI No. 4.

140. MALI No. 1.

141. MALI No. 4.

142. MALI No. 9.

143. MALI No. 13.

144. MALI No. 13.

145. La Raza Unida is a Chicano political party organized as an alternative to the Democratic and Republican Parties. Under José Angel Gutierrez it has won some significant electoral victories in parts [illegible]s. Lately, however, it has been weakened by Anglo opposit[illegible] [illegible]rious internal divisions.

146. [illegible] 9.

147. [illegible] 5. M.A.P.A. is the Mexican-American Political Association, formed in 1958 in California to serve as a political pressure group and vote mobilizer for Mexican-American goals and candidates.

148. MALI No. 6.

149. MALI No. 9.

150. MALI No. 5.

151. MALI No. 1.

152. MALI No. 11.

153. MALI No. 8.

154. MALI No. 9.

155. MALI No. 8.

156. MALI No. 4.

157. MALI No. 9.

158. MALI No. 8.

159. MALI No. 10.

160. MALI No. 5.

161. MALI No. 8.

162. MALI No. 4.

Universities and colleges receiving our reports:

San Diego Community College
San Diego, Calif.

Foothill-DeAnza Community College
Los Altos Hills,Calif.

Scandinavian Ethnic Curriculum Studies
Board of Cooperative Educational Services
Yorktown Heights, NY

Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity
New York City

University of Alaska
Fairbanks, Alaska

Marist College
Poughkeepsie, NY

Cameron University
Lawton, Okla.

Resources and Aids Center for Ethnic Studies (RACES)
Rialto, Calif.

Association of American Colleges
Washington, D.C.

University of Michigan
Detroit, Mich.

Italian-American Studies Program
Queens College
Flushing, NY

Intercultural Relations & Ethnic Studies Institute
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

Ethnic Studies Programs
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

State College of Victoria
Hawthron, Victoria
Australia

Educational Services, Inc.
Concinnati, Ohio

Educational Opportunity Programs
Gannon College
Erie, PA

Somerset County College
Somerville, NJ

RECEIVED

SEP 28 1977

DEAN [illegible]
SUNY [illegible]

To: Dean Grebstein

From: Mary Hanna

Date: Sept. 27, 1977

Re: Progress of ethnic studies committee

A number of meetings were held last semester to examine the possibilities for some kind of course of study in ethnic studies. We had some problems in that meetings were poorly attended -- often only one or two people besides myself showing up and not the same people each time -- and membership on the committee shifted. Original members dropped out and sent substitutes who had to be oriented into what we were doing and what progress had been made.

Even with these difficulties we did come to a number of decisions, however. Or rather, those of us who were present at various meetings came to decisions and others, informed by memo of meeting results, have not objected. Committee members decided that the program should be a major and not a certificate one. Their reasons were that not enough can be required in a certificate program to permit meaningful study of a field as diffuse as ethnic studies and that among students and in academic circles generally certificate programs seem poorly understood and seem to lack "clout." The idea of making ethnic studies an inter-disciplinary major was likewise ruled out. The committee felt that ethnic studies could stand on its own as a major and that a forced dual major might be very difficult for many students, especially if we did devise a rigorous ethnic program. Committee members further pointed out that students so desiring always have the option of forming dual majors. Therefore any student who wanted to could on his own arrange to major in both ethnic studies and black studies or ethnic studies and sociology, etc.

The committee believed that the major should be a rigorous one. All students wishing to enter the major would be required to take an introductory theory course, perhaps modeled on the intro Afro-American course 101, but exploring the function and significance of ethnicity rather than of race. Also required would be a skills course. As appropriate to the goals of the particular student, this could be either a language or a statistical or computer skill. In consulting with us on the ethnic studies program, Irving Levine of the New York Center for the Study of Group Pluralism suggested that we might consider, as an optional skill, training in organizational and leadership skills. He felt this should be patterned after those offered by human relations institutes ten or fifteen years ago, courses which would be pre-professional in kind and would teach students group leadership and arbitration skills, tension-management, coalition-building etc. He made this suggestion because he believes this will soon be a major need as ethnic groups and organizations move toward situations requiring mediation. No one on the committee (but me) seemed interested in this, however, and Dennis Thompson, after exploring the course and resource possibilities here reported that we had no such course and little possibility of someone prepared and available to teach it.

The committee also agreed: (1) that students should be required to serve an internship with some kind of ethnic organizations, magazine, theater, etc.; and (2) that there should be a senior seminar which would help pull the major together. I have already explored the possibilities for internship placement and have assurances from both local and national organizations that they would welcome interns. In fact, the political science department has on its own already placed a student intern with the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

The committee felt that a minimum of 12 courses should be required for the ethnic studies major and committee members surveyed each department to draw up a list of courses and teaching personnel already in place which might be drawn on for such a major. The course list, as so far presented to me, is attached.

As you can see, we have much here already available. However, the problem now is to structure the major beyond the agreed upon initial courses (theory and skills). In addition to the introductory courses and skills courses the senior seminar and the four-hour internship, students would have eight courses still to take, and my belief is that these should be divided so that the student takes four in relation to a specific group, giving him some specialization there, and four drawn from courses offered in a variety of departments and on our list which are group comparative in aspect. The student would thus have detailed knowledge of one group but his additional comparative courses would give him the comparative aspect vital to a true ethnic studies program. He would see his group in relation to the whole range of ethnic groups and to the multi-faceted concept of ethnicity. There has been no committee decision regarding this, however. Pending, too, is selection of undergraduates to serve with us on this committee.

In addition to the above, the following actions have been taken. I have discussed the project with local leaders, such as Robert Dobbs of the American Civic Association, to see how much community support we can expect. He was very enthusiastic, said he has wanted to see such a program at SUNY for years, and promised to cooperate. I have also talked to leaders of ethnic organizations at the national level, especially in regard to internships. I have also begun exploring money possibilities. I have been informed by the National Endowment for the Humanities that they are ready to fund meaningful programs in ethnic studies but they find they receive few such applications because few schools can overcome the political problems involved or guarantee continued teaching and other resources for such programs. I think we can do this and once we have the outlines of a proposed major would have a good chance at money.

As you can see, we have made progress. I must admit that I found last semester's operation frustrating. I would hope that we can make steadier progress this semester. If you wish, we can discuss this memo, the program, future agenda, etc.

Some beginning thoughts on funding possibilities for program as a whole and for disaggregated portions of program

Program as a whole: National Endowment for the Humanities

Exxon Education Foundation -- supports projects that promise to lead to wide improvement in instruction in higher education. Preliminary proposals are accepted four times a year.

National Council on Educational Research

Lilly Endowment - might fund whole or part; is interested in promoting religious, educational and community development, all involved in this program. Gives grants from $1,000 to $1,000,000.

Rockefeller Foundation/Ford Foundation, both having gone into giving "ethnic" money in last four or five years. Ford Foundation funds particularly ethnic community projects.

Ethnic Heritage Studies Program of the U.S. Office of Education - this program, with its heavy community involvement is a natural for the grant. We may be handicapped by the fact that we have already received one of these but since a new department would be making this application that may not count against us. Only problem is that the grants are small, about $40,000. Could be start-up money, however.

Community/research component: Stern Family Fund - gives quite large sums of money; likes community-involvement projects

Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development - funds projects in the field of behavioral-social population studies which research the changes and problems of human population groups in the U.S.

Department of Labor, Research and Development projects.

Generoso Pope Foundation - funds research and projects involving Italian-Americans

Copernicus Foundation - funds research and projects involving Polish-Americans

Also Dennis Thompson has suggested the following.
Office of the Aging and the Community Development act of 1974 -- give block grants for studying makeup of community, etc. This is especially true of Community Development Act.
National Institute of Education -- would have to phrase proposals so that we emphasize adult education, or education of the adult illiterate, etc., but thinks there may be money here for us. Also National Institute of Mental Health.
Suggests, too, Department of Labor (says Ben Chinitz would have information here) and CETA program.
Also says we should qualify under foundation program of YWCA.

English

Eng. 125 The Bible as Literature -
Eng. 126 Black Literature
Eng. 175 Studies in Modern Literature: The American Jewish Novel
Rhetoric 185 Masterpieces of Rhetoric (By decision of instructor can be built around such pieces as sppeches by civil rights leaders, etc.)
Comparative Literature 211 The Literature of Exile and Assimilation: The Jew in America (may be prerequisite problem here)

*

Sociology

(All sociology courses listed have prerequisites or require approval by instructor for entrance)

Soc. 121 (cross-listed with Afro-American Studies) Racial Stratification in America.
Soc. 126 Social Movements (According to Art Liebman, tangential)
Soci 129 (cross-listed with A.A.) Black Migration and Urbanization
Soc. 154 (cross-listed with A.A.) Race and Cultrual Relations in the World Community
Soc. 155 Family and Kinship (somewhat tangential)
Soc. 184 Social Stratification (somewhat tangential)
Soc. 188 (cross-listed with Judaic Studies) Sociology of Jews
Soc. 227 Colonialism, Social Structure and Modernization (tangential)
Soc. 229 (cross-listed with A.A.) Futures of Black Americans
Soc. 262 Religion, Self and Society
Soc. 265 Culture, Personality and Society
Soc. 268 Political Sociology
Soc. 289 Comparative Social Systems (tangential to date)

Political Science

Pol Sci. 128 Religion and Government in America (was taught by Dennis Thompson; don't know if it will be continued.)
Pol. Sci. 134 The Politics of Metropolitan New York
Pol. Sci. 135 Ethnic Politics in Urban America
Pol. Sci. 166 Urban Politics (can be taught to include discussion immigration, machine politics, ethnicity, race, etc.)
Pol. Sci. 125 Southwest Asia, North Africa
Pol. Scie. 129 The Politics of Israel
Pol. Scie. 124 (cross-listed with Afro-American Studies) Politics of Africa
Pol. Sci. 246 (cross-listed with A.A., has prerequisite) American Radicalism and the "Negro Problem"
Pol. Sci. 181 Contemporary Political Issues (Changes from semester to semester; could include ethnic topics)

In addition, it should be noted that there are major programs already developed in Afro-American, Judaic and Latin American and Caribbean Studies, although these programs and courses have not been included in these lists except where cross-listed.

* Syllabus for your course was subsequently given me

Results of surveys by committee members of courses now being taught on campus which might be relevant for an ethnic studies major

Philosophy - none, according to Emilio Roma

Geography - none, except possibly china or East Asian regional course.

History

Hist. 143 The Slavic Heritage
Hist. 153B Modern Jewish History
Hist. 166 History of Mexico
Hist. 168 History of Puerto Rico
Hist. 174 Emergence of Modern America, 1877-1919 (deals in part with ethnic, racial and other minorities)
Hist. 175 U.S. in the 20th Century (deals in part with immigration and racial issues)
Hist. 183 The American Working Classes (deals in part with religion, ethnicity and race)
Hist. 189 Indians and Other Americans
Hist. 189A-B (cross-listed with Afro-American studies) Afro-American history
Hist. 197B History of New York City
Hist. 284 (requires prerequisite or instructor approval) Social History of the American Industrial City

Department also offers Topics courses (Hist 196) which deal in part with ethnic studies. In the planning, too, is a course on the Immigrant Experience.

Anthropology

Anthro. 131 Language in Human Affairs
Anthro. 150 World Ethnology
Anthro. 166 Introduction to Social Anthropology
Anthro. 171 Introduction to Linguistic Structures
Anthro 171x Childrearing in Cross-cultural Perspective
Anthro. 239 Human Genetrics (has prerequisite)
Anthro. 235 Human Biological Variation (deals in part with race)
Anthro. 245 Biolinguistics (has prerequistie)
Anthro 262 Social Conglict and Control (cross-cultural in part)
Anthro. 265 Culture, Personality and Society (cross-cultural in part) (has prerequisite)
Anthro. 285 Psycholinguistics (has prerequiste
Anthro 287 Field Methods in Lingustics
Anthro 288 Sociolingustics (has prerequisite but can enter with permission of instructor.

Biological Sciences

Biol. Scie. 108 Human Sexuality

English Depart.

~~Eng. 125 The Bible as Literature~~

To: Ethnic Studies Committee members

From: Mary Hanna

Re: Progress Report

I would like to review the history of the ethnic studies committee and its progress thus far in establishing an ethnic studies curriculum at SUNY-Binghamton. This seems a good idea since the committee experienced changes in personnel last year and between last year and this and since many members were unable to attend several of the meetings and may be out of touch with part of what occurred.

Last semester committee members had a number of meetings and disuussions as a committee and also deld discussions and received advice from outside consultants -- Michael Novak and Irving R. Levine of the Center for the Study of Group Pluralism. We also conducted an investigation of the pertinent resources in courses and teaching personnel presently available at SUNY-Binghamton.

The committee came to the following conclusions:

Ethnic studies should be offered as a major and not a certificate program. Members felt that a certificate program would not allow us to require enough courses to build any meaningful structure in a program which by its nature must involve the comparative study of a number of groups. Members also felt that certificate programs are not well understood by students and therefore lack appeal to them and insufficient academic "clout."

The major should require a minimum of twelve courses approved by the ethnic studies committee as ethnic studies courses. All students enrolled in the program would be required to take two basic courses: a theories course, underpinning the major, (some suggestion was made that this could be modeled on the Afro-American course, 101, The Concept of Race in Western Thought); a "skills" course. Here we would require a language skill, where appropriate, or a statistical or computer skill. Dr. Levine made the suggestion that we might also allow the option, as a skills course, of a course in human relations or arbitration, since he velieves a great need in the job market soon will be for people who can serve as mediators or negotiators in disputes involving ethnic groups. However, committee members showed little enthusiasm for this and a survey by Dennis Thompson indicated that no one at present on campus taught or seemed interested in teaching such a course. The major would also require in its final year, a four-credit internship with an ethnic organization, eitherlocally or with a national organization, probably done during summer vacation. Mr. Robinson has suggested that taking part in a major research project under faculty supervision might also serve as an "internship." The major also would require a senior seminar which would help pull the major together.

Members of the committee also conducted a department-by-department survey of courses currently being offered and personnel interested and able to teach in this field. I append the results of that survey and the syllabi of the courses suggested.

We need now to consider the formation of the "middle section" of the major. That is, we may be agreed to begin with an intodoctory course and a skill requirement and to insist upon a final year internship/research project and senior seminar but that is four courses altogether. What about the eight intermediary courses? One suggestion has been that students be required to take a certain number of courses specializing in a particular group, Afro-Americans, Jews, etc., and then a number of other courses which are specifically comparative in nature. In this way they would have both specialization and the comparative component that is inherent in the idea of ethnic studies. Other committee members have suggested that students have the option within the ethnic studies major framework of specializing in a group or in ethnicity-related courses within a traditional field, sociology, history, etc.

We need to decide this. We need also to add students to our committee. May I have suggestions for interested/able students?

As an example of how we might structure the program and also how we might attempt funding for it, I append also a memo from Cedric Robinson making what I think are excellent suggestions in both those regards. Perhaps we could use it and the course survey as talking points at our next meeting.

I will be contacting you this week to try to arrange hours and days when we can meet.

The dean is most anxious that this program be actualized before the end of the academic year.

Cedric Robinson

Ethnic Studies and Research

The future development of Ethnic Studies will depend largely on three factors: the ability of the University to attract first-rate faculty; the further development conceptually of a integrated programmatic structure; and finally, adequate sources of funding. An immediate approach to the question of Ethnic Studies development will be the mapping out of funding strategies. One strategy follows:

We have in mind the preparation of a programmatic structure and organization which could be broken down into sub-divisions for the purpose of funding while maintaining their structural, intellectual and organizational integrity. We begin with two sub-divisions.

I. A Research Project on Adaptation Strategies of Immigrant, Ethnic and Migrant Racial Work Forces

II. Innovation in Undergraduate Teaching Which will Result in Skills Enrichment.

It is believed that these two sub-divisions might provide independently sources of external funding, new faculty, more intensive skill development for undergraduates, the possibility for faculty re-training and the basis for an academic program.

I. A Research Project on Adaptation Strategies of Immigrant, Ethnic and Migrant Racial Work Forces

The campus at SUNY-Binghamton is located in a rather unique community with relation to the field of Ethnic Studies. The existence of a relatively small Anglo-Saxon element and rather large ethnic deposition of southern and eastern European (Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks and Italians) presents a unique opportunity for study of adaptation to American social life. Despite the large numbers of immigrants who form the basis of American urban development since the late 19th century, it is probably true that the development of communities like those of the Triple Cities ares is more typical of both the situation of late 19th and 20th century European immigrant and migrant racial groups (Black Americans and Hispanics). It may also be true that the next few years constitute the last period during which significant numbers of immigrants may establish directly their historical record. We havein mind, however, more than simply the conventional relationship of academic to informant. Research projects into adaptation strategies developed by members of these groups might best proceed by establishing collegial parity, i.e., the training of senior members of the community in techniques of translating and codifying oral traditions, interviewing and organizing research teams. This would allow applications to a variety of funding agencies and in some instances, applications jointly developed and sponsored by local governmental agencies with university-based researchers. The possibility of the latter rests on the technique of offering to such public services as those which handle aid to the aged, new funding support and possibilities of development for senior citizens.

Specific areas of research have to do with re-organization of family structural and familial relations; linguistic adaptations; formation of oral traditions; educational strategies; occupational strategies; value adaptation; attitude formation; political organization; class formation and organization. A number of faculty already on the campus have indicated in a variety of ways an interest or interests in aspects of Ethnic Studies. However, any research project on the scale appropriate to that mapped out above will require administration. Research proposals should then include funds for administrative staff (coordinator; administrative assistant; and funds for support of graduate assistants and administrators brought into the project from the community.

II. Innovation in Undergraduate Teaching Which will Result in Skills Enrichment

With respect to an undergraduate program there exists two critical goals: One is the further development of skills training for undergraduate students. It seems very possible and clearly necessary that undergraduate students in the social sciences, the Fine Arts and Humanities receive training in a range of statistical and mathematical skills as well as in the contact and encounter elements of social research. This array of skills may include languages, statistics, applied mathematics, computer programming, research design, interviewing techniques, recording and analyses of oral traditions and community organization. A second aspect of an undergraduate program in Ethnic Studies is its programmatic development, that is the structure and organization of courses, the coordination of faculty involved in those courses and the establishment of a degree program. To some real extent this latter aspect was the focus of last year's committee deliberations. And a report of the committee might be appropriately included here.

POTENTIAL FACULTY PARTICIPANTS

Art Leibman
Adalberto Lopez
Norman Stillman
Sandro Sticca
Otto Ulc
Cedric Robinson
Melvin Dubofsky
Mary Ryan
Sarah Elbert
James Geschwender
Mary Hanna